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HISTORY OF ARIANISM

By M. MAIMBOURG;

SHEWING

Its *Influence* upon CIVIL AFFAIRS: And the Causes of
the Dissolution of the Roman EMPIRE.

V O L. II.



L O N D O N,

Printed by W. ROBERTS on *Lambeth-hill*, 1729.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ARLANS
BY M. MAIMBOURG

Its Influence upon Civil Affairs: And the Causes of
the Dissolution of the Roman Empire.

II.



V



L O N D O N

Printed by W. Roberts on Lambeth Hill, 1755.

T O

The Reverend Dr. *GODOLPHIN*,
- *PROVOST* of *EATON*;

Who, though eminent for his many excellent Qualities, and valuable Actions, has yet made it the *distinguishing* Glory of his Character, that, in an Age when the *DIVINITY* of our *BLESSED SAVIOUR* has been vigorously opposed, its Enemies encouraged, and its Advocates discountenanced, he has constantly shewn a particular *ZEAL* for That most important *Article of Faith*,

THIS HISTORY
OF
Arianism and Socinianism

Is addressed, with the utmost Respect, by

His most Obedient Humble Servant,

W. WEBSTER.

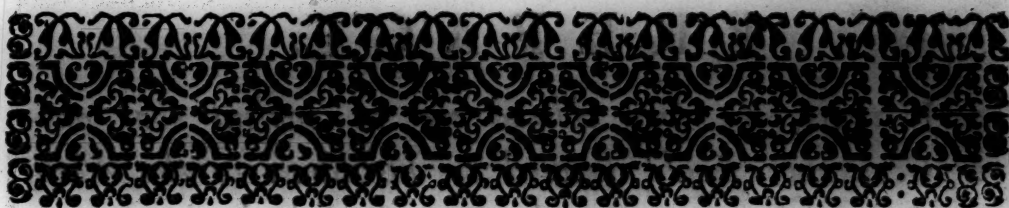
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T H E
P R E F A C E.



Will not trouble the Reader with a long Preface to a Work already very large, but, in justice to my self, I am obliged to give some Account of the Undertaking, and of the Execution of it.

The Translation of Maimbourg's History of Arianism was undertaken, and begun by Dr. Herbert, the Person who was concerned in the Translation of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History. About thirty Sheets of the Work were printed, and then it stood still for a considerable time. Partly by the Importunity of the Doctor, but chiefly at the Request of Dr. Waterland, I was induced to join in the undertaking, without knowing any thing more of it than that it had the Approbation of so learned and judicious a Person, who had acquired so much Glory to himself, and done so much Service to our Christian Faith, by his excellent Defence of it. After I had entred into Articles of Agreement with

P R E F A C E.

Dr. Herbert, he soon obliged me to consent that another Gentleman should succeed to his Share in the Work, and, instead of forwarding the Success of it by his Recommendation, he thought fit to express great Satisfaction in having ridded his Hands of it. His Successor (whose Name I have not the Liberty to mention) has translated a considerable part of the History, and, in respect to his Knowledge of the French Tongue, was perfectly well qualified for it. If, for want of Use, he sometimes seems to want a familiarity with the English Idium and Phrazeology, the sense of the Author is nevertheless preserved, and therefore the Translation is equally useful, though not always so elegant as a nice Critick in our Language might expect.

But there is another more material Objection which it concerns Me alone to answer. When I first delivered out Proposals, I undertook to give an Account (by way of Appendix) of the English Writers in the Socinian and Arian Controversies. Promises of This kind ought as religiously to be regarded as any others; but, like all others, they are not binding to Impossibilities, or in such Instances where it may reasonably be presumed that the persons, to whom they are made, would not insist upon the performance of them. This I apprehend to be my Case; I shall fairly state it, and submit my self to the Opinion of the Publick. When I gave out Those Proposals, I did not foresee the length of the Work, or the great Difficulty of getting Encouragement
to

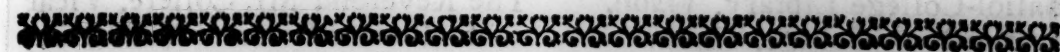
P R E F A C E.

to it. But the Expence having already so much exceeded my Expectation, by an Enlargement of the History, and the number of Subscribers falling so much below it, I did not think it would be expected by my Friends that I should injure my own Circumstances, only to gratify their Curiosity.

As to the History it self, I shall leave the Reader to make his own Judgment of it, after having cautioned the Unlearned against Maimbourg's frequent, but groundless Insinuations against the Protestants. His natural Temper seems to be warm, but his Passions are so strongly engaged in the Cause of Popery, that little Credit is to be given to his own Judgment and Authority when he asserts any thing in favour of his Religion, or makes Reflections upon Ours; and yet in such Points he seldom pretends to any better Authority than a bold Assertion, and an heavy Charge. But that the Arians may not take advantage from hence, and represent This History as a Collection of Falshoods, I must observe, that the main Series of Facts relating to Their Conduct is supported by good Authorities appeal'd to by the Historian, and agreeable to other Histories of those Times.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
ARIANISM.

PART II.

BOOK VII.



WHILEST Theodosius was labouring with so much resolution and success to destroy Arianism in the East, the Empress Justina was using her utmost endeavours to restore it in the West, and trying all means of being revenged for the affronts which she imagined that she had received of St. Ambrose, who continued to oppose her designs. (a) As she was invested with the authority of young Valentinian, who, at that time, was yet under her Government, though he was then seventeen years of

A. D.
383.

(a) Idal.

B

age,

A. D. 383. age, she was resolved in order to satisfy her passion, to manifest her power by edicts and open force: But the strange revolution, which hapened in the Empire by the revolt of the tyrant Maximus, and the deplorable death of Gratian, obliged her to suspend her rage, and disguise her intentions, till such time as she had secured her own and her Son's fortune. (b) Maximus, who was a Spaniard born, and claimed affinity with Theodosius, commanded the Roman Forces in England, where he found means to insinuate himself so far into the minds of the Soldiers, and take advantage of the dislike they had to Gratian, that they proclaimed him Emperor. The people of Germany and Gaul soon followed this example, and acknowledged the tyrant, being furiously provoked against Gratian, because he preferred the Alani and other Barbarians to the Roman soldiers; he intrusted them with his secrets, conferred his favours on them, and was even so condescending as to take delight in dressing himself often after their manner. By this conduct, he became so odious to his people, that Maximus had no sooner entered into Gaul, but the greatest part of the army went over to him; so that this unfortunate Prince, finding himself forsaken, was forced to retire to the Alps for safety, being attended only by three hundred horse. But seeing that all the passes were guarded by people, whom he did not dare to confide in, he came back to Lyons, where he was surprized and killed by Count Andragatius, general of the horse, whom Maximus had sent in pursuit of him; and this was done in a treacherous manner, because that Gratian looked on him as one of his best friends, and consequently did not mistrust him. Thus falling unhappily into the hands of this infamous traytor, he was barbarously massacred on the twenty fourth of September, in the sixteenth year of his Empire, and the twenty third of his age.

He was a Prince whom the Pagans themselves did allow to be most accomplished, in all the perfections both of body and mind; he was of a noble stature, and extremely handsome, his Eyes were bright and spritely, his complexion exceeding fair, the features

(b) Zos. 1. 4. Pac. in Pan. Theod. Victor. cap. 11. Sozo. lib. 7. cap. 13.

Zosim. 1. 4. Socr. 1. 5.

BOOK VII.

The History of ARIANISM.

3

of his face were beautiful; and his mind was sublime, polite, and cultivated with study and exercise. (c) He had acquired a great capacity, and was become very learned in all the finest accomplishments, chiefly in eloquence, wherein he rivaled the greatest masters of his time, having joined the instructions, which he had received of the celebrated Ausonius, to those extraordinary advantages which nature had given him in writing well either in prose or verse, and in speaking in publick (as it was his talent) with a most wonderful grace, on all kind of subjects. But the excellent qualities of his soul far exceeded those of his bodily perfections. This Prince was endued with the noblest inclinations, and had so natural a propensity to good, that virtue seemed to be born, and to grow up with him, without being at the trouble of any improvement. He was polite, obliging and generous; his friendship was sincere, and he excelled in liberality and magnificence; he was bold and daring in fight, and fearless in danger; commendable for his temperance and chastity, having an aversion to all voluptuousness. He slept moderately, and took much exercise; his humanity was great, and he was compassionate to the sufferings of his soldiers, whose wounds he would often dress with his own hands: But above all things, his piety towards God was exemplary, being extremely Zealous for Religion, and for the purity of the faith, wherein he surpassed all the Princes his predecessors. (d) In short, all those, who have written concerning this Prince, do agree, that he would have equalled in glory the greatest of Emperors, had he been able to break himself of one failing, which was even encouraged for their own ends by those who had the honour of being near him, whilst they ought to have endeavoured to divert him from it. (e) For instead of applying himself to the affairs of the Empire, to which he had a natural aversion, and for that reason left them to the management of his ministers, he used to employ most of his time in shooting of arrows, and lancing of javelins, killing wild beasts in a park, and other exercises of this kind, for which he had an extraordinary passion. All his glory consisted in this way of

A. D.
383.

(c) Ammian. l. 27. Victor. in Grat. Rufin. l. 2. c. 13. Ambros. or. in obit. Valent. (d) Auson. Grat. act de suo Consul. (e) Vict. in Grat. Ammian. l. 31.

A. D. 383. living, following his own inclinations, and letting himself be seduced by the deceitful complaisance of his nearest courtiers, who flattered and indulged him in these trifling amusements, whilst they governed the Empire in his name. Thus Princes, who generally have but few friends, and often many enemies, have none more dangerous than those, who, under a false appearance of friendship, encourage them in their faults, in order to take advantage of their weakness.

Maximus, after the death of Gratian, being acknowledged Emperor in Gaul, Spain, and England, it was thought, that he would have marched directly, with all his forces into Italy, in order to attack Valentinian, who was not at that time in a condition to make any defence; but he resolved before hand to discover the intention of Theodosius, and find out, whether he would be his friend or his enemy. (f) To this purpose he sent one of his bravest and oldest officers to him, who had orders to make him an offer of his friendship, and of all his forces jointly to defend the Empire against the Barbarians, if he would accept of him as his colleague, or if he refused his proposal, immediately to declare war with him. Theodosius, who after the general peace in the East, had reserved but a small number of Troops, and who, besides, could not then defend Valentinian, if the tyrant should at once fall upon Italy, concealed artfully his secret intentions, and made answer to the Ambassador, that he received with joy the offers which he brought him in the name of Maximus; that as he had succeeded Gratian with the approbation of the Army, he would willingly accept of him in his room, for his colleague to the Empire with Valentinian.

But Justina was strangely perplexed at the immediate danger to which she was exposed; she feared that Maximus while he was amusing Theodosius, would invade Italy, which was not able to resist him; and therefore, she found herself obliged to apply to St. Ambrose in spite of all the hatred she bore him, and to entreat him in the name of the Emperor her Son, to go Ambassador to Maximus, in order to divert the storm, and to manage affairs in such a manner, as to persuade the tyrant to be satisfied

(f) Zosim. l. 4.

BOOK VII.

The History of ARIANISM.

5

with the Dominions that lay on the other side of the Alps. This holy Bishop performed the articles of his (g) commission with so much art and power, that he put a stop to the course of this impetuous torrent, and prevented Maximus (who complained of it afterwards) from executing the resolution which he had taken, to improve so favourable an opportunity, and carry his forces forward, whilst he was treating with Theodosius. So that Maximus for this time, leaving Valentinian in peaceable possession of his share of the Empire, and being contented with that which Gratian had possessed, he remained in Gaul, and there established at Treves the seat of his new sovereignty, assuming the Title of Augustus, with the consent of the two Emperors.

A. D.
383.

In the mean while the affairs of Religion, concerning Arianism, were carried on in a very different manner in both Empires. For Theodosius, being informed by Letters, which St Gregory wrote from his solitude of Arianze to Nestarius, that there were Arian Bishops concealed in Constantinople, who still continued to teach privately their abominable doctrine (b). He issued out a new edict against them, (i) whereby he gave an absolute charge, that a strict enquiry should be made after them throughout that city, and that, having found out their retirements, they should be expelled; and sent to some remote place, where it would be no more in their power to deceive any one. The Empress Flaccilla was not a little instrumental in this affair; for she used continually to inspire Theodosius with that most ardent Zeal, which filled her breast, for the glory of the Son of God, against the Arians, whom she abhorred as much as she did the very Pagans: (k) For she used often to say, that it was as great an impiety to hold the person whom we worship for a Creature, as to worship an Idol made of gold or silver, for our God. And as she had gloried during her life in the profession of that faith, which teacheth Christians to worship one only God in the three Persons of the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST; so likewise she died stedfast in the same faith, which made her appear perfectly pure in the presence of God; as St. Gregory of Nyssa expresseth him-

A. D.
384.

A. D.
385.

(g) Ambros. or. in fun. Valen. Ep. 33. ad Sor. (b) Gregor. ad Nestar.
(i) Leg. 13. de Hæret. Cod. Theod. (k) Gregor. Nys. orat in funere Flac.

A. D. 385. self, who, being at Constantinople at the time of her death, preached her funeral oration before Theodosius, who paid unto that deceased Princess all the honours that were due to the memory of so great and religious an Empress. She was also a Spaniard born, ^(l) and of the illustrious family of the Æilians, from which the Emperor Adrian descended; and it seemed to be the will of God, that she should be placed on the throne, in order to repair (through her zeal for the faith, and her eminent piety) the wrongs which the three Arian Empresses, her predecessors, had done to the Eastern Church; as likewise to oppose Justina, who, at the same time, was using her utmost endeavours to restore Arianism in the West.

For this Princess thought she might now live in peace with regard to Maximus, whose furious designs St. Ambrose had just put a stop to; and on the other hand, having nothing more to fear on the account of Gratian, who never would have suffered any attempt to be made against this holy Bishop, whom he honoured like a Father, and had declared himself his protector, she resolved to re-establish her Arians, and ruin her banefactor. To this end, as she had such an absolute power over her son, that he acted only by her directions, she persuaded him on the twenty third of January in the year following to publish an edict, whereby it was made lawful for those persons to meet, who professed the doctrine, which was constituted by the Council of Rimini, and confirmed by that of Constantinople under Constantius, ^(m) that is to say, the Arians; and it was farther declared, that whosoever should undertake to oppose this order, should be punished with death, as the author of sedition, a disturber of the peace of the Church, and a traitor, reserving also to himself the punishment of those who would endeavour, under hand, even by prayers or humble representations, to prevent the execution of this edict. The Empress ordered Benevolus, first minister of State, to draw up this edict; but he desired to be excused, protesting generously, that, being a Catholick, he would die sooner than write any thing to the prejudice of that faith which he owed unto God. ⁽ⁿ⁾ And

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^(l) Claud. de Laud. Seren. Spart.

^(m) Leg. 4. de fide Cath. Cod. Theod.

⁽ⁿ⁾ Ruffin. lib. 2. cap. 16. Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 13.

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as the Empress was pressing him with promises to promote him to greater employments, if he would grant her the satisfaction which she expected from his loyalty; this brave Christian, pulling off the marks of his dignity, he flung them down at Justina's feet, with his sword, saying to her, "Madam, I not only resolve not to forfeit my conscience for the sake of those new titles of honour, which you offer me; but in order to convince you, that nothing of that kind is able to tempt me, I willingly resign up the employment which I now enjoy, thinking it an honour great enough to bear the name of a Catholick, if I can be so happy as to preserve it during my life, which I propose to do with the assistance of God, preferring it to all the dignities of your Empire."

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Having expressed himself in these terms, he departed from court, and retired to a house which he had at Bressa; where, after having received Baptism, which he had deferred till then, he led a life perfectly conformable to the heroick action he had just performed, passing his days in the constant practice of Christian virtues, as we are informed from the writings of St. Gaudantius Bishop of Bressa, (o) who makes the Elogium of that great man, in dedicating his Sermons to him. For this holy and learned Bishop chose rather to dedicate his Works to a private person, who by his virtue deserved the praise, which he must have given him in his dedication, than to address some great and worldly courtier, whose want of merit would have convinced him that he had placed false encomiums and adulations at the head of those Christian truths which he had preached.

Justina nevertheless executed her design; for she found, without much difficulty, an officer, who (as it is the custom at court) was so mean spirited, as to make himself a slave to her passion, and would not stick at committing a crime, to purchase the employments of Benevolus. So the edict, which was made in January, in behalf of Arianism, was published at Milan, in the year three hundred and eighty six. But the Arians were not satisfied with having the liberty only to meet in assemblies; they likewise wanted a Church for that purpose; and in order to obtain one,

(o) Gaudent. in Præfat. Serm.

they

A. D. 386. they must have found means to oblige St. Ambrose to resign one to them. After having deliberated upon this affair, Justina perceived, that there was no other plausible way, consistent with the reputation of the Arians, to compel him to it than by contriving, that their false Bishop should get the better of him in a publick dispute, in the presence of such judges as would undoubtedly be on his side. (*p*) This false Bishop was the young Auxentius, a Scythian by birth, who went by the name of Mercurinus, because he had made his name infamous in his own Country, for the abominable crimes which he had acted there, and likewise, because he feared, that his own name would render him odious to the people of Milan, who abhorred the memory of the late Auxentius, predecessor to St. Ambrose. As this man had a larger share of impudence than the rest of the Arians, and had a free and bold manner of expressing himself, appearing to those who were very ignorant, to have a greater capacity; Justina had caused him to be elected Bishop by the small number of Arians, who remained with her at Milan, and who, for the most part, fled thither from the eastern provinces, where Theodosius's officers would not suffer them to appear. This Princess was therefore of opinion, that he was a proper person to execute the design which she had laid; and accordingly Auxentius having received his instructions from Justina, and being fully assured of success in this undertaking, through the measures which she had taken, he sent a challenge, in a solemn manner, to St. Ambrose, summoning him to meet him at this conference, which should be held in the presence of the Emperor and his Council, before judges agreed upon by both parties, in order, that the person, who should be judged the conqueror by the Emperor, and by the votes of those who should be present at this dispute, should be put in possession of the principal Church, as being the true and lawful Bishop of Milan.

St. Ambrose was highly incensed at this proposal, whereby it was attempted to expose the cause of that faith, which had been solemnly decided by the Nicene Council, to the judgment of Lay-men, and perhaps persons of a prophane opinion. For, in-

(*p*) Ambrose in Auxent.

deed

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deed, Auxentius, (q) who had taken care in the challenge not to name the judges whom he proposed to chuse, had made choice of four or five Pagans to give their judgment in this dispute concerning the Divinity of **JESUS CHRIST**. The holy Bishop, having therefore refused to accept this challenge, as thinking it highly improper; Auxentius took occasion to upbraid him with his refusal in the presence of the Emperor, turning it all to his own advantage; and afterward entreated him, in a most urgent manner, to compel his rival, either to accept of the proposal, which he could not refuse with honour, or to deliver him up his Church. Valentinian, who was unwilling to disoblige his mother, who openly protected Auxentius, granted them whatever they required, and sent the tribune Dalmatius to St. Ambrose, to signify unto him the day which was appointed for the meeting at the imperial palace, with the judges whom he should chuse to be on his side, in order to dispute with Auxentius in his presence. Whereupon St. Ambrose, having consulted with the Bishops who were at that time with him, wrote that excellent epistle to the Emperor, wherein he represents to him, with equal respect, and force of argument, that by divine authority, as well as by the rules of the Church, and the customs of the foregoing ages, as also by the example and ordinances of the great Valentinian his father, it was not lawful for lay-men to determine ecclesiastical matters, and much less matters of faith; that these things must be decided by the Bishops only, and that whenever our belief is concerned, the Christian Emperors are to be judged by the Bishops, and not the Bishops by the Emperors. From thence he concluded, that if he must dispute in a Council against Auxentius, though it were no wise necessary to call one upon his account, he was very ready to do it; but that he could not repair to the palace, That not being a proper place wherein to treat of matters of faith. He even begs to be excused if he does not go himself to return him an answer, as he would have done, had not the Bishops and the people prevented him on this occasion, by not suffering him to leave his Church, for fear it might look as if he yielded it up to the Arians, who perhaps would improve the opportunity, and take posses-

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(q) Ambros. Epist. 32. ad Marcel. Sor. Ambros. or. contr. Aux

A. D. 386. *fion of it.* He then says, that his Church shall be open to all people, and that That was the place (and not the palace) where they ought to come, in order to hear him discourse upon the mysteries of faith. After this he continued to preach, according to his custom, with an incredible power, and GOD even concurred with him in a most extraordinary manner. For it is said, that one of the most cunning and obstinate Arians, (*r*) having heard him preach sublimely on the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and perceiving at the same time an Angel, who seemed to dictate to him in his ear the things which he was expounding to the people, he was immediately converted, glorifying GOD, and declaring openly what he had seen.

But the Empress was in despair, seeing herself disappointed in her first design, by the resolution of this holy Bishop, for whom the people had declared themselves; and not finding it an easy matter to oppress him by violence, she was forced to use art, and by the means of promises and presents to bribe some persons to carry him off by surprize. There were several who endeavoured in vain to gratify her desire; but at last, a man, whose name was Euthymius, and who was more bold and daring than the rest, undertook to execute this design at noon-day. For this purpose, he hired a house joining to the Church, and there kept for several days a chariot and horses ready, in order to seize on this holy Prelate and his attendants, at his coming out of the Church, after divine service was over, and the people were retired; then to carry him off at once, and convey him with speed to the place which Justina had designed for him. But he always found this holy man so well attended by his people, who were ever watchful of his person, that he miscarried in his design; and GOD, by a just judgment, in order to punish him for his attempt, (*s*) permitted (before the year was at an end) this wretched man to be apprehended in that very house, and carried away in that same chariot, to the banishment which he was condemned to for other crimes.

(*r*) Paulin. in vit. Ambrose.
vit. S. Ambr.

(*s*) Ambrose. or. in Auxen. Paulin in

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Justina, seeing all her hopes frustrated, fell into so excessive a rage, that she could not help breaking out into open violence. She procured a new edict in favour of Auxentius, which he drew up as he thought fit, whereby it was ordered, upon pain of death, that all catholick priests should abandon their Churches, and deliver them up to him. There was even a rumour spread throughout the city, that soldiers were sent to the principal Church, with orders to murder St. Ambrose, in case he refused to deliver it up to those who were sent to demand it of him in the name of the Emperor. Thereupon the people, from all parts, repaired to the Church, and shut the doors, with a resolution to defend it and their Bishop, whom they carefully watched day and night; expressing no other fear, but that, being overcome by the solicitations and threats of the Emperor, he would deliver up his Church to him, in order to dispose of it to the Arians. But the people's courage increased beyond expression, when they heard the wonderful discourses which the good Prelate made daily upon the holy Scriptures, to give them assurance of the divine protection; and when they saw his invincible courage and steady resolution, to perish a thousand times rather than willingly to surrender his Church.

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(t) And indeed some days after, on the wednesday before Palm-sunday, the Tribunes, having invested the Church with soldiers, presented the edict to him, in virtue whereof, they commanded him in the name of the Emperor, to deliver up his Church to them, with all the sacred vessels, permitting him to retire wherever he pleased, with those who were disposed to follow him; to which he generously answered, with a holy freedom and calmness of mind: "That, having on that very day explained unto his people the History of Naboth, he was firmly resolved to follow his example, and to shed his blood like him, rather than yield up the inheritance of his fore-fathers; that is to say, his Church, which he had received of the Dionysius's, Eustorges's, and the Mirocles's, his illustrious predecessors, to whom JESUS CHRIST himself had intrusted it as his patrimony. That he would never betray his ministry, nor his Master, in delivering up

(t) Ambrose, Ep. 32.

A. D. 383. "so sacred a trust, because he was in greater fear of the Lord
 "of the whole world, to whom that estate belonged, than of the
 "Emperor of Rome, who had no claim to it. That the prince
 "might take from him his personal estate and possessions, his
 "gold and his silver, if there was any of it left that was not
 "in the hands of the poor, and even the lands of his Church if
 "he had a mind for them; that, tho' in so doing, it would be
 "an act of injustice, nevertheless he would not attempt to op-
 "pose him; but to leave voluntarily his Church and the sacred
 "vessels thereof to be given up to the Arians, was a thing
 "which he would never agree to, were he to lose a thousand lives.
 "That indeed he had no other defensive arms but his tears, his
 "lamentations and his prayers before the Lord, and that were they
 "even to cut him into pieces, he would not resist; but that he
 "likewise knew how to stand his ground, and not forsake his
 "Flock, nor his Church, out of any apprehension of death; and
 "that, if the Emperor was resolved on this occasion, to act all
 "the violence he could against him, AMBROSE would shew,
 "on his side, that he could bravely suffer, like a Bishop, all
 "the severest torments, sooner than quit his post, and abandon
 "his Church.

The holy Bishop having acquainted the people with what had passed, they filled the Church with acclamations; though in the mean while, the Arians represented him at court as a seditious person, and as a ring-leader of the rebels, who had seduced the people, by distributing amongst them the income and treasure of the Church under the specious pretence of Alms: And as one who was stirring them up by extraordinary canticles which he made them sing daily in the Church, and were like so many trumpets of sedition. For they spoke in this manner of the verse of glorification in honour of the most holy Trinity, which he caused to be sung at the end of all the Psalms, Hymns, and Canticles, in order to confound Arianism. And this the people used to perform with so great a fervency, that St. Augustin, who was then at Milan, and whom St. Ambrose had converted within the space of two years, confessed, that it sensibly affected him, and inspired him with an ardent devotion, which was attended with a flood of comfortable tears.

The

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The court being informed of St. Ambrose's resolution, it was thought fit to make some abatement in the demands, which were first made upon him, in order to dispatch the business with the more expedition and without noise. To this end, the prefect of the city went the next day to St. Ambrose, and assuming a more civil and respectful air than he had done the day before, he endeavoured to persuade him that, for the sake of peace, as the Prince was willing to mitigate the Affair on his part, he ought to do the same for his satisfaction. That he was therefore come to tell him, that he should peaceably possess his church, and that the Emperor would be contented, if he would immediately, as it was expected, deliver up in a handsome manner the *Basilica Portiana*, which was a beautiful and stately Church in the suburbs. At this proposal the people, who knew the intentions of St. Ambrose, and were resolved to perish, sooner than deliver up any Church to the Arians, cried out aloud with one voice, without waiting for his answer, that, as that Church belonged to the Catholics, no body could take it from them without committing a sacrilege, and that he himself could not without impiety, yield it up to the Enemies of JESUS CHRIST. Hereupon the prefect, seeing that he could not be successful in his negotiation, replied only, that he would acquaint the Emperor with this resolution.

At this report, Justina lost all manner of patience, and Being blinded to all consideration but that which flattered her passion, and inspired her with a desire of Revenge, she resolved immediately to have recourse to open violence, and seize the Church sword in hand. Therefore, on the second day after which was Palm-sunday, in the morning, as St. Ambrose, after his sermon, was preparing solemnly to celebrate the divine mysteries, he was informed, that a body of soldiers were come out of the palace with their officers, and going to seize on the *Basilica Portiana*, and that a great number of the people armed were likewise repairing thither, in order to oppose them. The saint, tho' surprized at this news, nevertheless began his office; but as he was at the oblation of the holy gifts, one of the Deacons came to acquaint him, that the people, passing through the great place, as they were going to the *Portiana*, had seized an Arian priest, who was
in.

A. D. in danger of being cut to pieces, if they pursued their design
 387. against that Church. St. Ambrose hearing this, could not refrain
 his tears; he prayed unto God, that all the evil which would
 happen through this disorder, might fall upon his head, being ready
 to atone for it with his blood, which he offered up for the Arians
 themselves; then he immediately sent his Priests and Deacons in
 order to deliver the Arian priest out of the people's hands, by
 which means he saved his life.

As on one side the tumult encreased, so did the persecution of
 Justina on the other, and the whole city being in a terrible con-
 fusion, the Tribunes, the Counts, and even the Captains of the
 Goths, who were in the Emperor's service, came to St. Ambrose
 to desire, that he would keep the people in their duty, and put a
 stop to the sedition; that in order to show an example of obedi-
 ence to others, he should deliver up, without delay, the Church
 which the Emperor required of him, and which he had a right
 to, since, being absolute master in his Empire, every thing was
 his. The holy Bishop replied, "That it was neither lawful for
 " him to deliver up the Church, nor for the Emperor to take it:
 " That far from having any right to the house of God, he
 " had not even a right to that of a private person, which he could
 " not seize by force, without violating the rights of justice: That
 " nevertheless, if the Prince would have his gold and silver, and
 " all that he possessed, though, as a Bishop, he had nothing but
 " what belonged to the poor; he might take it, without giving
 " him much concern. If he requireth my life, *said he, with an*
 " *incredible resolution*, he may take it from me without
 " opposition, I shall not fly to the Altars to beg it of him; to the
 " contrary, I shall ever feel an extraordinary joy in offering it
 " up a sacrifice, for the defence of those very Altars which are
 " required of me, in order to be prophaned by the impiety and
 " sacrileges of Arianism. As to the tumult raised amongst the
 " people, I am not the cause of it. I may very well avoid pro-
 " moting it, and even endeavour to suppress it, in exhorting
 " them, as I have already done, to defend themselves with no
 " other arms but tears and supplications unto God; but when
 " they are once incensed, nothing but God alone can pacify
 " them". Besides this he made use of many strong and moving
 arguments

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arguments to persuade them not to become the ministers of Arian impiety, nor of the passion of a woman, who made an ill use of the authority of a young Emperor, to destroy a religion, which the great Valentinian his father had always so religiously professed, and so vigorously protected. After this the Counts and Tribunes withdrew in silence, appearing to be very much affected with his discourse; and St. Ambrose, having passed the rest of the day in another Church, called the *Ancient Basilica*, in order to give some consolation to the people of that neighbourhood, retired home to his house, where he remained all night, and would not suffer it to be guarded, that the world might see how ready he was to undergo all the violence that they could act against him, for the defence of the cause which he was resolved to maintain.

Nevertheless they did not dare to assault his person: But on the monday early in the morning, as he was going from his house to the Church, he was informed, that the soldiers had taken possession of the *Ancient Basilica*, though it was already full of people, and that if he would advance a little farther he might hear (as he accordingly did) the lamentations and woful complaints of those who implored his assistance. The holy Bishop being moved with compassion, mixed his lamentations with those of his people; but he would not on any account let himself be persuaded at the same time to go into that Church, in order to oppose the soldiers: "It doth not belong to me, *said he*, to oppose force with force, nor to fight against soldiers in that Church, as it were in a field of battle. It is my duty never to submit either to the prayers, threatnings, or violences of those who would oblige me to deliver it up to them; for I must act against them as a Bishop, with spiritual arms". Hereupon they told him, that the Cathedral was more crowded than was ever seen in time of peace, and that the people, who expected his presence, desired with a loud voice, that the holy Scriptures might be read to them. So he immediately repaired thither; and though it was already surrounded by military men, he entered it very peaceably, without any one's seeming to oppose him. Being in the Church, in order to shew that he did not pretend to fight as a general, but that he was resolved to exert all his Episcopal power in the defence

A. D. fence of his rights, he solemnly declared, that he excommunicated
387. all the soldiers who had taken possession of the *Basilica's*.

Now it seemed as if all things were reduced to the utmost extremity, and that the Arians, backed by all the forces of the Empire, were going to be the masters in Milan, when God by an extraordinary token of his grace, and by a miraculous change, which could proceed only from the hand of the most high, restored, as it were in one moment, peace and tranquility to that Church, to the confusion of Justina and her Arians. For in the first place, the soldiers who had invested the Cathedral, hearing what St. Ambrose had just done, began to enter quietly two by two into the Church; and as they perceived that the people were afraid, they protested openly, that they did not come thither, as enemies to molest them, but as their brethren, in order to assist at the divine mysteries, under the same pastor. Hereupon the holy Prelate having received them as part of his flock, he ascended the pulpit, and began his sermon upon the book of Job which had just been read. He was not far gone on with his subject, when he was agreeably interrupted by a person who came to acquaint him, that they were carrying back to the palace the imperial canopy, which had been set up in the *Ancient Basilica*, for the reception of the Emperor, whom Justina would have persuaded to go thither in order to take possession of it in behalf of the Arians, and that the affairs had taken a quite different turn from what was believed. For indeed the soldiers of the Emperor, who had taken possession of that Church by his orders, had no sooner entered it, but they were changed from being persecutors into lambs, and they deputed some of their officers to tell him, "That he might come to the Church when he pleased, that they would not omit doing their duty, and would serve him according to their employments, upon condition, that they could see him communicate with the Catholicks; but that if he would side with the Arians, they would likewise do what God commanded them, in joining with those who acknowledged the Bishop Ambrose for their Pastor. This adventure, which was unexpected at court, surprized Valentinian, who not daring to trust himself amongst them, ordered his Canopy to be brought back. And the Arians, who had none of their sectaries in town, and were but few in number

number in the palace, not daring to appear without the Emperor and Justina, whom they attended, took great care not to expose themselves.

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Besides, there happened another affair which deprived both Justina and the Emperor of all hopes of succeeding in so ill manag'd an undertaking. For the first officers of the Empire, and all the great men at court, on whom Justina had relied, went in a body to Valentinian, humbly to entreat him in the name of the whole Army to appear at Church on those holidays, which were consecrated to the memory of the passion of Jesus Christ, in order that the people might see, that he was resolved inviolably to preserve that unity of faith, which the few remaining Arians were endeavouring to destroy by so scandalous a Schism. The Emperor, being surprized and highly offended at this discourse, made them the following answer: "I understand your meaning; the bishop Ambrose has so great a power in Milan, that should he command you to deliver me up to him in chains you would obey him". In the heat of his passion he immediately sent one of his secretaries to Ambrose, to ask him how he had dared to oppose his orders, and whether he pretended to usurp the Empire like a tyrant, that he might prepare himself to make war against him? To which the holy Man answered coolly: "That in doing his duty, which would not suffer him to deliver up his Church to the Arians, who were the enemies of JESUS CHRIST, he had not acted against the respect and fidelity which he owed to the Emperor. That as to his asking him, if he pretended to set up for a tyrant, That question might easily be resolved by Maximus, who daily complained of him, for having prevented him by his persuasive arguments, from coming into Italy in order to oppose Valentinian."

At the same time there came to St. Ambrose a Gentleman from the Eunuch Calligonus great Chamberlain to the Emperor, who, affecting to be zealous for the service of his Prince whom he saw in so violent a passion, sent an impertinent message to the Bishop; telling him, that since he was so insolent as to despise the Emperor, he should find that the Emperor had people who would punish his insolence, and that he himself, who gave him this advice, would go and cut off his head in his own house. The holy

D

Bishop

A. D. Bishop, who shewed little regard to these brutish expressions, sent
 387. the person back, saying to him, Go to to your Master, and tell him
 precisely what I say. "I pray unto GOD, that he may per-
 mit thee to put thy threatnings in execution; for I shall
 then have the pleasure and honour to suffer like a Bishop
 in the cause of GOD, and thou shalt bear the shame of acting
 like a brute, such as are thy Fellow-Eunuchs. Let those infam-
 ous wretches cast all their rage on me, and glut themselves
 with my blood, I heartily offer it to them, provided it may
 please GOD by That means, to deliver his Church from the perse-
 cution it hath so long laboured under, through those Arians
 who are but half men". (*) This generous reply was some-
 time after authorized with the justice of GOD, who permitted
 This wretched Calligonus to be convicted of an infamous crime,
 which none but an Eunuch could be guilty of, and his head was
 cut off for the same, by the command of That very Valentinian,
 whose passion he would have indulged when he threatned to cut
 off St. Ambrose's head.

But all these threatnings and violent proceedings at court were
 like the last efforts of an expiring flame, which, when it is tow-
 ards its end, blazeth up into the air with the greater force, but at
 last ceaseth, and is suddenly lost in its own smoke. For the wisest
 persons in the council represented expressly to the Emperor, that
 on the one side the whole city being dissatisfied; and on the other
 hand, the army having declared, that they would live in the
 communion of St. Ambrose, it would be dangerous to expose his
 authority, in persisting to deliver up the Churches into the pos-
 session of those few Arians who remained in the palace. This
 young Prince, who began to perceive that his power was abused,
 resolved at last to submit to those remonstrances, in spite of all
 the passionate endeavours of Justina. So that on the holy tues-
 day, as St. Ambrose was explaining the History of Jonas in his
 Cathedral Church, the news was brought him of a happy recon-
 ciliation, after so great disorders; and a calm succeeded the storm
 which was just at an end. For he was informed, that the Emperor
 had then given orders, that all things should be restored to the

(*) Aug. contr. Jul. l. 6. c. 4.

state they were in before, that the prisoners should be set at liberty; (s) that restitution should be made of what had been seized; that what was passed should be forgotten, and that the soldiers should retire from the *Basilica* which they were in possession of. These orders were executed with so great a joy, that the soldiers crowded about the Altars, and kissed them as a token of their satisfaction and thankfulness unto GOD for the peace newly restored to the Church, for which they had been so fortunate on this occasion to declare their zeal. And thus Justina, in spite of all the violent endeavours which she had used by the instigation of the Arians, had the mortification to see all the orders of the city both in particular and in general, the clergymen and lay-men, the court and common people, the citizens and soldiers, the great officers of the Empire, and the meanest of the Plebeians, the Earth, and even Heaven itself; all these, I say, had declared in favour of St. Ambrose against the Empress Justina. For at that time he discovered the bodies of the holy martyrs, St. Gervasius and Protesus, in the Church of St. Nabor and St. Felix; and the miracles which GOD was pleased to perform by the means of those holy relicks, in the presence of all the people, highly exalted the virtue of St. Ambrose, and the truth of That faith which he defended with so much zeal and vigour against the Arians.

(t) And indeed, as these relicks were, by the Bishop's orders, conveyed to his Basilica, with an extraordinary pomp and magnificence, in a general procession of all the people, where even St. Augustin himself was present, and a witness of these wonders, several persons who were possessed with evil spirits, roared out aloud in a most hideous manner, that they were tormented by the martyrs and by Ambrose; and that such people as the Arians, who would not acknowledge the unity of Essence in the Trinity, might suffer the same torments to confirm the faith of That mystery, which the Devils themselves confessed, and in defence of which those saints had gloriously shed their blood. These possessed people had no sooner touched the sacred shrine of the Martyrs, but they were immediately delivered of their evil spirits; the sick like-

(s) August. Confes. l. 7. c. 7. Ambros. Epist. 85. Paulin. in vit. Ambros.

(t) Ambros. Serm. 91. Aug. lib. de Cur. Ag. pro. Mort.

A. D. wife were perfectly recovered by touching the cloath which lay
 387. over the shrine; and a blind man, who was known throughout the whole city, recovered his sight only by touching the fringe of That cloath. The Arians, who were almost in despair to see their Party thus confounded by such evident testimonies, had the impudence to say, that all this was an imposture and a cheat contrived by Ambrose, who had set up false martyrs, and had bribed people to counterfeit the possessed, the sick and the blind. But though they were strangely exposed for their impudence in publishing so notorious a falshood; yet, besides, it was the will of God to confound them still more by a surprizing accident which compleated their ruin. (*u*) For one of the most furious men of their Party, having thrust himself into the crowd, in order to spread those calumnies which he asserted with as much assurance as if they were manifest truths, was suddenly seized with an evil spirit, which made him cry out aloud in a most horrible manner amongst the people, with strange and frightful distortions: "In this manner will those be tormented in Hell, who deny that the saints are martyrs, whose relicks are now carried about, and will not believe the unity of substance in the Trinity as it is taught by Ambrose". This accident was very disagreeable to the Arians; but their hearts were so hardened, that, far from making a proper use of it, they became more wicked, and carried their rage to such an extremity, that they privately flung this wretched fellow into a pond of water, where he was drowned, in order to suppress so invinsible a testimony of their malice and perfidioufness.

In the mean while Justina, having it no longer in her power to act openly against this holy man, applied to the most black and abominable means she could think on to destroy him. She first employed a wicked ungodly man, who having concealed himself in St. Ambrose's chamber, drew his sword and was going to kill him, when on a sudden, his arm remained without motion; whereupon he flung himself at the holy Bishop's feet, and having discovered the whole truth of this affair to him, St. Ambrose restored his arm to the state it was in before, and sent him away very much

(*u*) Paulin in vit. Ambros.

reformed from what he was, detesting his crime, and the cruelty of the Empress. But this was not the only attempt she made, as we have been informed, since her death. For a certain sooth-sayer, who was a pagan, and a famous magician, being put to the torture, for the crime of witchcraft, which he was accused of; instead of answering to the questions which were made him, he cried out aloud with all the strength of his voice, that he suffered much greater torments from the angel to whose guardianship St. Ambrose was committed. He persuaded the spectators by his lamentable cries that he was invisibly and severely smitten by that angel, because that in order to indulge the passion of Justina; he had sacrificed unto the devil at midnight, on the top of the roof of the Church, by which means he proposed to stir up the hatred of the people against their Bishop: But that the more he put these abominations and witchcrafts in practice, so much the more did the zeal and love of the people encrease for the catholick faith and for St. Ambrose its defender. He, besides, declared that having one day invoked the devils and sent them to kill the holy Bishop, they turned back, confessing their want of power, and said that they could not even approach his door, because his whole house was defended by an invisible fire which stopped them even at a great distance, and tormented them by the heat of a flame which was yet more insupportable to them than the very flames of hell.

But at last, tho' so many prodigious things had not been able to put a stop to the raging passion of Justina against St. Ambrose, a much more powerful passion effected it. And this was the fear of the tyrant Maximus, who, as she was informed, was then making great preparations of war, in order to pass the Alps and invade Italy and the rest of the western Empire. For, indeed, Maximus being at that time powerfully armed, and successful in all his undertakings, he began to repent of having so easily acquiesced to the persuasions of St. Ambrose, and was now waiting only for a favourable opportunity of falling on and surprizing Valentinian whilst he was the least apprehensive of it. (x) He had written to him in favour of the Catholick religion, against the Arians; advising him to continue stedfast in the faith of the great Valenti-

(x) Theod. l. 5. c. 4. t. 1. Epist. Rom. Pont.

A.D. 387. nian, and entreating him to put an end to the unjust persecution which was carried on against Bishop Ambrose, who so generously defended the cause of truth. He behaved in this manner in order to draw in the Catholicks, and be able to justify his arms, under the fair pretence of piety, against the prince whom he intended to oppress. Justina, being terrified at the threatening danger, had no other thoughts at this time but to find means to avoid it; and, as the first embassy of St. Ambrose had prevented Maximus from coming into Italy, (y) she persuaded the Emperor her Son to send him a second time to him, with the pretence of demanding the body of Gratian, under This colour artfully to discover his designs, and use his endeavours to divert him from attempting any thing to the prejudice of the treaty of peace.

This holy Bishop, who preferred the service of the Emperor, his master, and the publick good, to all other considerations, both as to the injuries he had already received, and the ill-treatment he might then expect from Maximus, who complained highly of him, set out immediately for Treves, where, in the midst of the Council, (z) he used the strongest arguments he could think on, in answer to his complaints; and withal endeavoured to persuade him not to violate the peace, but to deliver up the body of Gratian to Valentinian, in order that the funeral solemnities might be paid him, which could not well be denied him without the utmost barbarity. But tho' on this occasion, St. Ambrose used all the force of eloquence, and the prudence of an experienced statesman, yet he could get no other answer at That time from Maximus, but that he was very willing to treat with Valentinian: And some days after, hearing that St. Ambrose refused to communicate with the Bishops of his court, he ordered him to retire. Therefore at his return, he gave an account of his negotiation to Valentinian, advising him at the same time to be aware of the deceits of Maximus, who, under the colour of a new treaty of peace, proposed only to conceal the design he had formed to make war against him. But This prince made no advantage of the wise councils of This great man: (a) For, having sent Dominus, one of his principal ministers, to treat with Maximus; This tyrant insnared him so artfully by his deluding

(y) Ambros. or. in ob. Valen.

(z) Ambros. Ep. 27. ad Valent.

(a) Zof. l. 4. words

words and the extraordinary honours he had paid him, as likewise by magnificent presents, and even troops which he sent to his master against the barbarians, who then threatned Pannonia, that Dominus was easily persuaded that Valentinian could never have a better friend than Maximus; and hereupon, expressing all the satisfaction imaginable, he set out again and made his way towards the Alps. But the tyrant at the same time, following him close with his whole army, marched with so much expedition, that he reached Italy immediately after him, and in the first place took possession of Aquilea. Then descending from the Alps, like a raging torrent, he over-run the plains of Lombardy, where he caused most horrid devastations. But now, finding that all yielded to his fortune, and submitted without resistance to his power, he took upon him to behave with more humanity: So acting artfully like a man who makes every thing subservient to his interest (even religion) he resolved to draw into his party the Pagans, Jews, and Christians; the first, by re-establishing the sacrifices which Gratian had abolished, and permitting them to restore the altar of victory in the capitol; (b) the Jews, by rebuilding their synagogues at Rome; and the Christians, by writing to Siricius, Bishop of Rome, that he would inviolably maintain the catholick faith, and not admit of any heresy.

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But in the mean while, Valentinian, seeing This sudden irruption of Maximus into Italy, and not having power to resist him, set out immediately, and, for safety, retired by sea to Thessalonica with Justina his mother, from whence he sent an express to Theodosius at Constantinople, entreating him, by the memory of Gratian his benefactor, to revenge his death, and take his brother into his protection, whom That cruel tyrant would have treated after the same inhuman manner, had he fallen into his hands. Theodosius, who sometime before had espoused Galla, sister to Valentinian, was extremely concerned to hear the deplorable condition this young Emperor was in, who was his colleague and brother-in-law. He came to him at Thessalonica, where, after having offered him all the comforts imaginable in his present misfortune, and expressed his tenderness and affection for the family of the great Va-

(b) Ambros. Epist. 29. To. 1. Ep. Ro. Pont. Zos. l. 4.

lentinian,

A. D. Ientianian, he said to him in the stile of a father, and Christian Emperor: (b) "That in order to bring a remedy for so great an evil, which had reduced him to This deplorable extremity, he must find means to destroy the cause; which was nothing else but the heresy and war which he had maintained against JESUS CHRIST, in upholding the Arians, and persecuting the defenders of his divinity. That, if he had not JESUS CHRIST on his side, who had given the Victory to Constantine over all the tyrants, all the forces of the Empire would only serve to render his loss more considerable, and his overthrow the more compleat. That he needed not to seek any where but in his own house for the proofs of a truth which he ought particularly on This occasion, to make the rule of his conduct. That the great Valentinian his father, having constantly preserved That faith which he had so generously confessed under the Empire of Julian, had likewise on all occasions been victorious over the Barbarians; and that by his great and glorious actions, he had acquired the same name which had rendered the memory of the Alexanders, and the Constantines so renowned in the world: That on the contrary, his uncle Valens having renounced That faith, to give himself up to the impieties of Arianism, which he had maintained with the persecution of the Catholicks, had likewise miserably lost, with his Empire, both his honour and life, and died a most horrible death in the midst of those flames which were lighted, by the very Goths, who had but just cut his whole army into pieces: That indeed Maximus was a tyrant, but that notwithstanding his being a tyrant, he nevertheless acknowledged JESUS CHRIST to be truly GOD; that, besides, it was to be feared least the true GOD, who was the Lord of Hosts, should sooner favour the party of a catholick tyrant, than That of a Prince, who from being a catholick was become the protector of the Arians. Therefore, if he proposed from the assistance which he would endeavour to give him, to obtain all the success he wished for, he must have JESUS CHRIST in his interest, by abhorring Arianism, which was the cause of his misfortunes, and sincerely re-embracing the Religion which he had abandoned, more through the crimes of others than his own, having been deceived by the artifices of those who had deluded his youth.

(b) Suidas, V. Valent.

This

This admonition given to him so timely, and expressed in so strong a manner, by a Prince on whom, at that time, the fortune of young Valentinian mostly depended, made so great an impression on his mind, that, abjuring his error, he protested, that for the future he would (as indeed he did) inviolably adhere to the belief of the Catholick Church, and to that faith which St. Ambrose had maintained with so much courage and zeal, even in oppositions to him. Justina, to whom this discourse was not agreeable, in as much as it particularly concerned her, dissembled her dislike to it; and, as the present emergency of affairs had more power over her than the interest she had in the party of the Arians, she seemed, as it were, to forsake them, and used all the art she was mistress of, together with prayers and tears, to persuade Theodosius, her son-in-law, to make war against Maximus. And accordingly he resolved to do it; for, after having for some time held in suspense the ambassadors of that tyrant, who were making him considerable offers, he set out with his army at the beginning of the spring in the year three hundred and eighty eight, having first of all prepared himself by solid acts of piety, in order to bring down the blessings of God on his forces. For, before he departed from Thessalonica, he renewed his edicts against the Hereticks, and chiefly against the Arians, (c) to whom he forbade all manner of meetings either publick, or private, in houses where they used to meet under divers pretences, in order to celebrate their sacrilegious mysteries. (d) He ordered solemn prayers for imploring the assistance of heaven, and sent even into Egypt to recommend the success of his arms to the prayers of those famous solitaries, who were mostly renowned for their holiness. (e) Instead of consulting profane oracles, he applied to the holy and eminent abbot John, whom he knew to be indowed with a spirit of prophecy, and who foretold him that he should obtain victory. But, what chiefly procured him the mercy of God was, the clemency which he himself showed in imitation of JESUS CHRIST, at the latter end of Lent, on a very nice occasion, wherein he resolved gloriously to conquer himself, before he made the conquest of his enemies.

(c) Leg. 14, 15, 16. de Hæret. Cod. Theod.

(d) Aug. de Civ. l. 5. c. 26.

(e) Ruff. l. 2. Cap. 32.

A.D. 388. The people of Antioch, being enraged at a new tax which was laid on them, in order to provide for the necessities of so important a war, made a sedition in which they behaved with so much fury, that, in order to affront and provoke Theodosius, (*f*) they pulled down and shamefully dragged about the streets, and publick places, the statues of the empress Flaccilla, for whose memory he had a singular veneration. He was just going utterly to destroy that great city which was in the deepest consternation, (being deprived of its privileges, and ornaments, by the proclamations of the commissaries whom he had sent thither with soldiers in order to punish their horrid attempt) when on a sudden he was moved to clemency by the prayers and tears of the patriarch Flavian, who was come to Constantinople to beg pardon for his people, to whom Theodosius said these fine words, (which St. John Chrysostom, who in the mean while was comforting that wretched city with his admirable sermons, hath immortalized, by an elogium worthy of the virtue of so great a prince). "If JESUS CHRIST, as great a GOD as he is, hath vouchsafed to forgive men who were his enemies, and crucified him: Why should I want a heart to forgive my subjects who have offended me; for tho' I am an Emperor and master of all, nevertheless I am a man as they are, and their fellow-servant. Depart, bishop, it is my will that you go immediately, and that you carry unto them for their Easter holy-days the entire forgiveness of their crimes. Let them only pray unto GOD for the prosperity of my arms; and as soon as this war is happily ended, as I hope it will, I shall go myself and give them as much joy and as many assurances of my affection for them, as I created in them fears and sorrow by my indignation." By such glorious actions as these he was preparing himself for war, and endeavouring to move GOD himself to be on his side, after having put his army into a good condition, which he took care to strengthen, chiefly with good French and Saxon troops whom he had hired, (*g*) those very troops who behaved the most bravely in all his engagements.

(*f*) Sozom. l. 4. Theod. l. 5. c. 19. Sozom. l. 7. c. 23. Chrysost. in hom. ad Pop. Anti.

(*g*) Ambr. Ep. 29.

On the other part Maximus, who plainly perceived, by the treatment which his ambassadors had met with, that he had nothing to hope for on the part of Theodosius, was likewise making great preparations, and putting himself in a condition even to attack him. He set out a powerful Fleet by sea, (b) which was commanded by Andragathius, not knowing whether Theodosius might not come into Italy by sea, and dispatched his brother Marcellinus with a potent army, towards the streights of the Alps, in order to oppose the passage of any troops into Italy, whilst he himself, with the major part of his forces, advanced into Pannonia, and came to Seiscia upon the river Savia, in order to march up to Theodosius, (i) and give him battle, in case he came by land, or to make diversions throughout the Country up to the gates of Constantinople, if he should come by sea. But Theodosius was before-hand with him by his extraordinary diligence; for having conveyed Valentinian and Justina by sea to Rome, which had declared against the tyrant, he marched with great speed by land; and, having reached Seiscia, whilst Maximus thought him yet at a great distance, he fell upon him at once with so much courage and resolution, that the tyrant's men, being surprized at an attack so vigorous and unexpected, and not being able to sustain the first charge of the French and Saxon troops, who began the engagement, his whole army was almost put to the rout, with little resistance; and he himself, being obliged for safety to fly, retired to Aquileia, in order to gather up the remains of his defeated forces, whilst his brother Marcellinus endeavoured to stop the conqueror at the passage of the Alps.

But the good fortune and valour of Theodosius soon destroyed all his designs. He had no sooner gained that first victory, but turning suddenly all his forces towards the right, he marched up to, and defeated Marcellinus, who was incamped near Poetovium, upon the river Dravus; so that without giving time to be informed of his brother's overthrow, (k) or to retire into the Streights, he without difficulty gained a second victory. After which, pursuing his conquest and those who were put to the flight, with an

(b) Zos. 1. 4. (i) Kovvacz, in Sclavonia. Pacat, in Paneg. Ambr. Ep. 29.
(k) Pettaur in Styria.

A. D. equal vigour, and preventing by his diligence the report of his coming, he arrived unexpectedly at Aquilea, where Maximus, 386. (*l*) not knowing what he was a doing, had shut himself up, instead of retiring into Gaul, as if he had designed to reserve himself for the triumph of Theodosius. And indeed, the few soldiers who were in the place, seeing the victorious troops already at the gates, instead of defending themselves, joined with those who marched in without resistance; and having seized the tyrant, whom they pulled down from his tribunal, and stripped off his imperial robes, they bound him in chains, (*m*) and thus delivered him up to Theodosius, who, after having reproached him with his perfidiousness, in a manner nevertheless which expressed more compassion than anger, was forced at last to give him up to the fury of the soldiers, who cut off his head on the twenty fourth of August. Andragathius, being informed of what was past, and fearing the soldiers would deliver him up likewise to Theodosius, cast himself into the sea; and Arbogastus, (*n*) colonel of foot, who had been sent into Gaul in order to secure it, surprized and killed Victor, whom he found there, his father Maximus having left him there with the title of Cesar.

This victory was the finishing stroke which caused the destruction of Arianism, till the Barbarians, as we shall see hereafter, made it revive again by their conquests. The small number of Arians, who were at Constantinople, despairing to see themselves so much oppressed by the rigour of the ordinances which had been published against them, contrived maliciously during this war, to spread a report, that Theodosius had been defeated by Maximus who had destroyed his whole army, and that with much difficulty he had escaped falling into the hands of the conqueror, who was still in pursuit of him. This news, which at first was given out by a few people, became by degrees so publick, and seemed in a little time so probable, by the addition of particular circumstances, which even mentioned the number of the killed and wounded on both sides, that the very persons who had invented it, hearing it reported in a positive manner by people

(*l*) Ambros. Epist. 29. Zosim. lib. 4. Socr. lib. 5. cap. 14. (*m*) Pacat.

(*n*) Idat. Zos. 1. 4.

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who really believ'd it, (o) and related it with new particulars, began to persuade themselves that it was actually true. Therefore, as there are in all parts people, who, through a natural propensity to evil, are always enemies to a present government, whatever it be, and that the world is easily inclined to believe the worst, when they are fond of a change, it happened that so many people published it for a certainty, that no body dared to contradict it.

Hereupon the Arians believing themselves free, and delivered from the fear of an Emperor, whose loss they looked upon as certain, because they wished it, could no longer contain themselves; but, rushing furiously out of their houses, like the unruly waves of the seas, which having broken down the dikes that kept them in their bounds, force their passage, to the destruction of the country; so I say, these seditious Arians in a most horrible confusion and disorder, ran with torches in their hands like madmen to the palace of the Patriarch Nestarius, which they set on fire, in order to be revenged of the Catholics, who were in possession of all the Churches. But their rage was soon quelled, and the fire extinguished, which had no farther consequence. For about the same time news was brought of the Emperor's certain victory, which struck such a terror into the Arians, that changing suddenly from one extremity to another, they ran and flung themselves at the feet of Arcadius, whom Theodosius had left during his absence at Constantinople, and conjured him to intercede for them with his father, and procure them a pardon of their crime, which they heartily abhorred, protesting to atone the same by a behaviour which should be very contrary to that which they had shewn hitherto. (p) Arcadius, who was moved by their prayers and tears, promised to comply with their request; which he did in so effectual a manner, that Theodosius at last granted him the favour he demanded for those wretched men, who from that time daily saw their party losing ground, and made no more noise in the East.

(q) In the West likewise religion reaped great advantages from the glorious success of Theodosius, who so entirely dimini-

(o) Socr. lib. 5. cap. 13. Sozom. l. 7. cap. 14. (p) Ambr. Ep. 29.
(q) L. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. Cod. Theod. Idat. Soz. lib. 7. cap. 14. August.
l. 5. de Civit. cap. 26. Ambros. in fun. Theod. August. l. 5. de civit. Prud. adv.
Sym. l. 1. Hier. cont. Jovin. l. 2. & Ep. 7. Hier. Præf. in Ep. ad Gal.

A. D. shed the remains of Arianism by the new ordinances which he published against hereticks, that scarcely was there any memory of them retained in Italy. After this, as he had passed the whole winter and part of the spring at Milan, he set out in order to make his entry in triumph at Rome, which he did in the month of June, with his son Honorius and Valentinian, to whom he restored the whole Empire which he was in possession of, before that Maximus had compelled him to abandon it. He now could no longer endure to see the remains of idolatry which the Emperors had tolerated out of a policy, that appeared to him mean, and contrary to Christianity; he therefore abolished the pagan feasts and sacrifices, and caused the temples, which remained in the capitol, to be demolished, and the idols pulled down; as likewise the altar of victory, with all other altars which were then consecrated to false deities. All which was performed with so great an applause from the people of Rome, that the triumphs of the Cæsars, his predecessors, were never attended with so much glory, as that which appeared on this occasion, with publick rejoicings, praises which they gave unto God, and blessings to the Emperor, in the very temples which had been for so long a time profaned by the impious worship of devils. And as he bore as great an aversion to heresy, as he did to idolatry, he soon purged the city of it, by giving orders to the prefect Albinus to expel all the hereticks he could find there, (r) and forbidding all men to have any manner of correspondence with them. Valentinian likewise, being delivered from the persecution of Justina, who died before this triumph, and being on the other hand obliged to Theodosius for his life, honour and Empire, he chearfully contributed to these glorious actions, and detesting the principles of Arianism, which his mother had unfortunately instilled into him, he continued stedfast from that time in the catholick faith, under the conduct of St. Ambrose, whom he honoured as a father, till about three years after, when Theodosius was returned to Constantinople, he was miserably murdered, by the treachery of Arbogastus.

(s) This Arbogastus was one of those french captains, who had entered into the service of the Romans, and who, after the death

(r) Leg. 18. de Hær. Cod. Theod. Sozom. l. 7. cap. 14. Ambr. Ep. 57. Ambr. Ep. 34. (s) Zos. l. 4. Paulin. in. vit. Ambr.

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of Gratian had stedfastly adhered to the interest of Valentinian against Maximus. (t) He had acquired so much honour and credit by his valour and courage, and his wise conduct, as also by his good fortune, and the contempt he bore to riches, giving all to the soldiers, and reserving only for himself the honour of his great actions, that he took upon himself, thro' his own authority, the employment of field master general, which the whole army, who was at his command, agreed to, the court not daring to oppose him; and Theodosius, who was acquainted with his great qualifications, had sent him into Gaul in order to take possession of it, and to command the forces there, after the defeat of Maximus. He performed in those parts such glorious actions against the Barbarians, and even against those of his own nation, whom he defeated in several engagements, (u) that in an entertainment which he gave to some of their kings, after the peace was made, they told him that what he had done surpassed even nature; and that so many victories which he had gained, could proceed only from the friendship of Bishop Ambrose, who could even command the sun to stop. Indeed the holy man bore a great love to him, as he likewise was beloved by Arbogastus. But so many distinguished qualities were also mixed with a multitude of imperfections; and above all things his ambition and vanity were insupportable; for they led him to that pitch of insolence, (x) that he acted with an absolute power, despising the commands of his prince, reforming them as he thought fit; and would never put any of them in execution, but in such a manner as was agreeable to himself. Valentinian, whose soul was perfectly great, being come into Gaul where Arbogastus commanded thus like a sovereign, shewing the utmost contempt to his authority, could no longer bear this indignity; and, as he was one day seated on his throne, seeing him approach him with his usual haughtiness, he cast an angry look on him, and at the same time gave him a written paper, whereby he dispossessed him of the command of the army; which Arbogastus had no sooner read, but he told him with a most insolent air, tearing the paper as he withdrew, "As you are not the person who gave me

(t) Suid. V. Arbog. Socr. l. 5. c. 64. Soz. l. 7. c. 22.
Ambr.

(x) Zosim.

(u) Paulin. in vit.

"that

A. D. "that command, you never shall be the person, who shall take it
389. "from me." And from that time he never ceased to cabal and plot against him; (y) till at last, having bribed some of Valentinian's officers and Eunuchs, he caused him to be strangled at Vienna, in the night time as he was sleeping in his bed. This happened on a Saturday at night, the fifteenth of May, and the eve of the Pentecost.

This prince, who was then in the twenty sixth year of his age, was master of all those perfections both of body and mind, which were sufficient to make one of the greatest Emperors that ever reigned. He had an extraordinary fine shape, with a comely mien, accompanied with a noble and majestick air, whereby he was easily distinguished from all other persons. (z) He had strong and well proportioned limbs, and was extremely active in all exercises; his genius was lively, and he had a penetrating judgment in business, which he applied himself to with so much solidity, and discretion, that even the wisest and oldest of his council were astonished at it. In a word, he seemed to be born a friend to every virtue, and an enemy to vice, so noble and great were his natural dispositions. (a) He was chaste, generous, liberal and magnificent; meek, civil, obliging, and a great protector of innocence against the malicious endeavours of calumny, to which he had declared war; and, (which is rare, even in men of a low rank in the world, and much more in princes, who believe that their condition ought not only to justify, but even to immortalize their imperfections,) this young prince used to take so great a care to correct whatever was found amiss in his behaviour, that he was even willing to debar himself of the most innocent amusements of life, such as the publick entertainments of the circus, and hunting, of which exercise he deprived himself rather too severely, because it was thought that he had too great an inclination to it. But, what gave the greater lustre to his virtues, was his incomparable piety towards God, and the zeal which he shewed for the true religion, as soon as he was delivered from out of the hands of his Arian mother, who alone was guilty of all the disorders which were acted

(y) Socr. Epiphan. de Mens. & Ponder. Idat.
(a) Ambr. in fun. Valent.

(z) Zosom. l. 7. c. 22.

during

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during his minority: For he then followed the counsels of Theodosius and the instructions of St. Ambrose, for whom his affection daily encreased from the time that he began to act for himself; whereas on the contrary he had born an extraordinary hatred to him, through the persuasion of Justina, whilst she had the administration of affairs for him; so that whatever good was acted during his reign, was owing to him, and whatever evil, may justly be ascribed to his mother.

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As he was at that time a catechumen, and just going to make war against the Barbarians, he had entreated St. Ambrose to come immediately in order to baptize him, being resolved to receive baptism from his hands. (a) He was then expecting him with impatience, and shewed an extraordinary desire to receive that divine sacrament from the hands of his master, and father; for thus he stiled the holy Bishop, who had already passed the Alps in his way to Vienna, when he heard the dismal news of the fatal death of this prince, which gave him an incredible sorrow. He returned half dead to Milan, continually lamenting his loss, as well as that of the empire, and Church, which was robbed of its benevolent protector. And the only comfort he had was, that his body being sold by the treacherous regicides, who barbarously and villainously, without foundation, reported that he had strangled himself, (b) he, by the express commands of Theodosius, celebrated his funerals in a most magnificent manner, and in the excellent funeral oration, which he pronounced on that occasion, (c) he found some ease to his grief, from the tears, he shed, and the true elogium, which he gave to his virtues; as likewise because he was assured that the baptism, which that prince had desired and demanded in so pressing a manner, having purified him from all the stains of his sins, he and his brother Gracian were both admitted to the heavenly enjoyment of an everlasting life; declaring nevertheless that he would not pass one day without offering up divine oblations for them, nor a night without giving them a share in his prayers. I thought that this protestation, which I ought not to omit, might serve to convince such protestants as would give ear to reason, that the holy fathers of the fourth century prayed as we do for the dead.

(a) Ambros. in fun. Valent.
fun. Valent.

(b) Hieron. Ep. 3. Sozom.

(c) Ambros. or. in

A. D. After this cruel parricide, (*d*) Arbogastus, (as he had contrived
 392. it before-hand with the prefect Flavian, and some other Pagans of
 his cabal) caused one Eugenius to be proclaimed Emperor. This
 man had been a grammarian, and, having quitted the schools, which
 he formerly held, was become a courtier, and had entered into the
 service. Ricomerus, who had an esteem for him, and when he set
 out for Constantinople left him with Arbogastus, to whom he recom-
 mended him as a man of sense and learning fit to be employed on
 any useful occasion. Arbogastus therefore believed that this man
 being his creature, he might dispose of him according to his own
 pleasure; and this wretched fellow, tho' a Christian, (having a strong
 disposition towards Paganism, (*e*) and being by Flavian persuaded
 into a belief that certain omens promised him the Empire, with
 the destruction of christianity) he resolved to take upon him the
 purple robes and diadem, tho' in reality he was but a tool, they
 made use of, and bore only the name of Augustus and Empe-
 ror. The first action he did was, the restoring of sacrifices, and
 rebuilding the altar of victory, which Valentinian, by the instiga-
 tion of St. Ambrose, had positively refused to the prefect Symma-
 chus: (*f*) After which he sent a solemn embassy to Theodosius, in
 order to know of him whether he would acknowledge him for his
 colleague to the Empire, or for his enemy. But Theodosius, hav-
 ing amused the ambassadors some time, whilst he was under-hand
 making necessary preparations, he at last sent them away very well
 satisfied, made them rich presents, and gave them many fine
 words, which made them believe that he intended to live in peace
 with their master. At the same time he gathered up all his
 Roman forces under the command of Stilico, (*g*) who had married
 his niece Serena, and the auxiliaries of the barbarian nations, chief-
 ly the Goths under the command of Gainas, Saulus, and Bacuri-
 us. This being done, (after having implored the assistance of God,
 according to custom, (*b*) with fasting and exercises of Penance, and
 by new edicts, which he caused to be published against Hereticks)
 he marched with all diligence towards the Alps, where his enemies
 had made themselves masters of the passages, in order to fight him

(*d*) Zof. l. 4. Sozom. l. 7. c. 22. Paul. in vit. Ambros. (*e*) Sozom. (*f*) Zof.
 (*g*) Ruff. lib. 2. cap. 32. Leg. 21. de Hæret. Cod. Th. August. Epist. 50. (*b*) Prof-
 per. Marcel. Petau.

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with the more advantage to themselves, and prevent his coming into Italy. 35
A. D.
393.

The army of Eugenius, which the Pagans were absolute masters of, as well as of their Emperor, besides the Roman legions who had served under Valentinian, was composed of a prodigious number of Gauls and French (*i*) who had followed Arbogastus their country-man; and, after having placed an advanced body of men at the passage of the Julian Alps, they appeared in order of battle on the tops of the hills, bearing at the heads of their lines, amongst their standards, the statues of Hercules and of thundering Jupiter. (*k*) The forces of Theodosius consisted of two powerful bodies, which he had divided, the one was composed of the old bands of Roman soldiers, who had fought under him, with so much glory and good fortune, against the Barbarians in the East, and against Maximus in the West; and the other, of those foreign nations, who inhabited the countries lying on the borders of the Danube; and of some French, who had remained in his service from the time of his war with Maximus, and of old Iberian soldiers under the conduct of that brave Christian Bucarius their General; but above all of Arian Goths, who had given themselves to him after the death of Athanaricus, (*l*) and who were commanded by Gainas. He immediately fell upon those who were guarding the passes, and charged them so unexpectedly, that being struck with terror and disordered, (*m*) he made himself master of them at the first attack without meeting with much resistance; and being afterwards advanced with all his army he drew it up in order of battle before the enemy, who, after having recovered from the fear, which so resolute an action had given them, put themselves likewise in a posture of defence.

(*n*) Thus they fought for the space of two days, which were the fifth and sixth of September, some of them on the hills, and some in the vales on the border of the river Frigidus with various turns of success. On the first day Theodosius, seeing that the innumerable body of Barbarians, whom Arbogastus had brought

(*i*) Marcell. (*k*) August. 5. de Civ. cap. 36. (*l*) Ruf. l. 2. cap. 33.
(*m*) Zos. lib. 4. Ruf. lib. 2. cap. 33. Socr. lib. 7. cap. 24. (*n*) Marcell. Prosper.
Ruf. l. 2. Oros. lib. 7. cap. 35. Victor. Socr. lib. 5. cap. 24. Theod. l. 5. cap. 24.
Sozom. l. 7. cap. 24. Idat.

A. D. 394. with him out of Gaul, filled up all the vales, and that they were sustained by the Roman legions, which were in order of battle with Eugenius on the hills, proposed to observe the same order and begin the fight with those foreign troops, to whom he had, given the vanguard, reserving himself with the body of Roman soldiers to sustain them. Gainas, to whom he gave the head of the right wing, made the first attack with the Goths, who at first fought bravely, followed by the other foreign troops, and chiefly the Iberians, who on that day behaved the best of all, encouraged by the example of Bacurius, who commanded at their head. But Arbogastus being a brave and skilful officer, and his troops extremely well disciplined, and much more numerous than those who were fighting against them; the Goths at last, after a long and obstinate combat, wherein most of their bravest men were cut off, being no longer able to resist the multitude of fresh enemies, who suddenly poured down upon them, gave way, and falling foul on their own people, caused a general disorder, which gave occasion to the enemies, (*n*) who pursued them very close, to make a most horrible massacre amongst them, who, in this confusion, being a hinderance to each other, were no longer able to defend themselves. Theodosius, (*o*) who from a rising ground whence he could discover what passed, saw the danger he was in; and that, if Eugenius should fall upon him, whilst he was attacked at the same time by those foreign victorious troops, his defeat was inevitable, he with a loud voice invoked JESUS CHRIST, whose glorious name was seen on all his standards. Then he so bravely encouraged his officers, but particularly the valiant Bacurius, who perceived that he was lifting up his hands to heaven, that having rallied those who were running away, they stopped the fury of those who were pursuing them, whilst the Romans, headed by Theodosius, advanced in order to sustain their people, and engaged the troops commanded by Eugenius. (*p*) Thus they fought without giving the least ground to each other till night, which putting an end to the combat, caused them to retire. Eugenius, who thought himself victorious by the defeat of the vanguard of his enemy, (*q*) made great rejoicings in his camp, and was in

(*n*) Zof. Theod. (*o*) Ruff. Sozom. (*p*) Socr. (*q*) Soz.

no doubt but that Theodosius had made his escape with the remainder of his army, by the help of the night, leaving him entirely master of the camp, with the honour of the victory. A. D. 394.

In the mean while Theodosius being retired to his own camp on the hill, held a council of war, wherein most of the generals were of opinion, that after the loss which he had received of a great part of his vanguard (r) which was cut to pieces, the troops that remained, were too small in number, and too much disheartened, to be exposed to the hazard of a second engagement against an enemy so much stronger, and flushed with the success of a battle, wherein he had obtained an advantage; that it would be more prudent to retire into the strong places of the Empire, in order to gather up leisurely fresh troops during the winter, and begin again the war with equal forces in the spring. But the Emperor rejected this advice, and endeavouring with a resolute air to inspire his captains with the same courage which he himself was master of, he said to them, "God forbid that the Cross, which appears on my Ensigns, should by our consent yield to the statues of Hercules and Jupiter, which our enemies bear at the head of their army. We must fight to morrow, and we shall conquer, like unto Constantine, in that sign, which promises me the victory". After This he gave orders for the next day, and he himself retiring to a chappel, which happened to be near the place where he was incamped, he resolved there to pass the remaining part of the night in prayer. It is reported that falling asleep during his oration, whether it was only a dream occasioned by the ideas of the first battle, and that his imagination was filled with the desire of conquest; or, that during his slumber he had one of those celestial visions, which, according to the Pagans themselves, were allowed to come from God, I shall not say; but he thought, That he saw two men mounted on two white Horses, who encouraged him to give battle to the enemy early in the morning, saying they were John the Evangelist, and Philip, an Apostle of JESUS CHRIST, who were come by his command to attend him in marching before his Ensigns. Be this as it will, as he was going by break of day, to draw up his army in order of battle, they

(r) Theod.

A. D. 394. presented a soldier to him, who had just told his officer that he had the like vision in a dream; and Theodosius would not omit the occasion of so favourable an incident to encourage his army. For he told his officers, " That the same thing was represented to his mind, promising him victory, that it was not for him, but for them that GOD had sent That vision to the soldiers, least they should imagin that it was an artifice of their Emperor, who had already, contrary to their opinion, resolved on a battle. Let us fight therefore (said he to them) in the name of GOD under such great commanders, who will be at our head, and let us rather observe our guides than the multitude of our enemies, who will not be able to stand before them ". This speech being spread throughout the army, it inspired the soldiers with so much courage, that there was not one of them, who was not eager for the fight, and ready to go to battle as to a certain victory. Hereupon Theodosius, willing to lay hold of their present disposition, marched down into the plain, in order of battle, with a resolution to go up streight to the enemy.

This at first surprized Eugenius, who had no other thoughts but those of enjoying the fruits of his victory. But as from the top of the hill, where they had fixed his tent, he could discover the small number of forces which the Emperor had left, comparing them to his own, who the mean while were drawing up for battle; he said, That Theodosius was coming like a desperate man to loose his life, and that he charged them not to kill him, but to bring him alive to him bound in Irons. The two armies being in presence of each other, the Emperor placed himself at the head of his Horse; and having given orders for the founding of the charge, (s) he made the sign of the Cross, which he looked upon as an invincible armour, then rode up directly to the enemy, with his men whom he had inspired with equal courage; Bacurius followed him, (t) who on this occasion performed wonderful actions, in order to retrieve the loss which the foreign troops had sustained in the first combat. Arbogastus on his side did all that could be expected from a great and a valiant commander, tho' without success; for GOD soon declared himself openly for Theodosius, by a

(s) Oros. l. 7. (t) Ruff. Socr.

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miracle which was known to the whole world, (u) and which the very Pagans themselves could not entirely conceal, though a certain Writer of theirs, through a base malice, altogether unworthy of an Historian, hath endeavoured to suppress it, (x) contrary to the testimonies of all those who wrote in those days, (y) Both armies were no sooner closely engaged, when suddenly on the side of the camp of Theodosius, between the East and South point, there rose a most furious wind, which carried the arrows of his soldiers with more force against the enemies, and drove back theirs against themselves in such a manner, that none of their arrows reached the Emperor's soldiers. Besides This storm raised clouds and whirlwinds of dust, which flying directly into the faces of Eugenius's men, obliged them to shut their eyes, so that they remained useless, and without defence, exposed to the darts and spears, which flew at them from all parts. Hereupon the Imperialists, seeing the assistance of God who visibly fought for them, fell upon the enemy sword in hand, (z) and made a most horrible slaughter of the foreign troops, who had gained such great advantages the day before, (a) whilst the Romans, after that Theodosius had promised their officers to shew them favour, laying down their arms, surrendered themselves, and delivered up Eugenius bound in chains to him, whom the Emperor, after having reproached him with his crimes, caused immediately to be beheaded, whilst at the same time That wretched man was shamefully begging his life on his knees.

Arbogastus, who had made his escape, and concealed himself for the space of two days in the hills, despairing to find means of avoiding those who were in pursuit of him, in order to bring him to Theodosius, who was resolved to revenge, on his head, (b) the Parricide of Valentinian, killed himself with the wounds of two different swords, which he thrust into his body. The Emperor being satisfied with the death of these two criminals, shewed mercy to all the rest, and gave all the plunder to the soldiers, chiefly Jupiter's (c) Golden thunderbolts and statues, which the (d) enemies

(u) Claudian. in Pan. 3. Hon. Conf. Aug. 5. de Civit. cap. 26. Ruff. Socr. Theodor. Sozom. Socr. Theod. (x) Zof. lib. 4. (y) Oros. (z) Oros. Sozom. (a) Socr. Sozom. (b) Zof. Socr. Sozom. Claudia, in 3. Conf. (c) August. 5. de Civ. cap. 26. (d) Oros.

A. D. 394. had erected against him, by a sacrilegious ceremony which they performed on the hills. There was not much Roman blood shed in this remarkable victory; but in the first fight the Emperor lost a great number of his foreign troops, and among the rest ten thousand Goths, who were killed upon the spot. It was observed from that time, that the loss of these people was esteemed as valuable as the gaining of a battle to the Empire, which was delivered from so many enemies; (e) and that God permitted that they should all be destroyed in the first engagement, not intending that Theodosius should lose the victory, but to convince the whole world, that he had so gloriously overcome the enemy by the divine assistance, (as he did the next day) and not at all by the help of the Arians and Barbarians.

Therefore, as we may properly say, that this great action was chiefly the victory of God; it was also his will that it should be proclaimed after a manner that was worthy of himself. For the same day, on which it was gained, at the passage of the Alps, as they were exorcising an evil spirit in the Church of St John the Baptist, near Constantinople, (f) (where Theodosius, before he went to the war, made a fervent prayer,) the devil, I say, cried out in a most lamentable manner, speaking injuriously to that divine fore-runner of CHRIST: "Wretched man who art beheaded, is it then decreed, that thou shalt overcome me, and destroy my army?" This saying surprized those who were present, and having set down the day and hour, they found afterwards, that this was the very time in which Eugenius lost the battle: But what the famous Abbot John said on the same occasion was yet more remarkable, and we can no ways be doubtful of a thing which we have received from the very person who saw it, and to whom that holy man addressed himself. (g) The Emperor having again consulted the holy Abbot concerning the success of this war, he foretold his victory, and his death in Italy. Some time after as Evagrius and his companions, who were then visiting the Monasteries of Thebaides, were taking their leave of this wonderful Hermit, he blessed them in these words: "Depart hence in peace, my beloved Children, and be it known unto you, that This day at

(e) Ruff.

(f) Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 24.

(g) Evag. p. 1. cap. 1.

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“ Alexandria, is published the happy news of the victory of the Emperor Theodosius over the tyrant Eugenius : After which, it is decreed, that in little time that admirable Prince must leave this life. And soon after they were confirmed in the truth of this prediction ; for they were informed, that the news was actually come, which gave an account of the defeat of the tyrant, which happened at the very time mentioned by the holy Abbot.

About four months after, Theodosius being at Milan, where they were celebrating, with extraordinary rejoicings, a victory which had made him the absolute master of both Empires, (b) he was taken ill, and did not doubt, but that according to the prophecy of Abbot John, it was a call from God in order to triumph in Heaven : And after having abolished all the superstitions of Paganism, destroyed the remains of Arianism, provided, by the counsels of St. Ambrose, (i) for the safety of the Churches, freed the people from their taxes, extinguished by his last will and testament the memory of all the crimes which were committed against him under the tyranny of Eugenius ; divided the Empire of the East and West between his two Sons, who were then with him, and to whom he chiefly recommended the observance of piety towards God, and zeal for Religion, having first appointed St. Ambrose for their spiritual guide, and Stilico for the temporal affairs ; after having done all these things, and, by a constant good fortune peculiar to himself alone, and which did not descend to his successors, having likewise overcome the Barbarians, destroyed the tyrants, obliged the Persians to keep within bounds of respect, suppressed rebellions, maintained his subjects in peace, whilst religion flourished throughout his Empire ; and, what raised his glory to the highest degree, having restored the Empire of JESUS CHRIST in the whole extent of it, by the total ruin of the Arians, who never could re-establish themselves during his life ; after all this, I say, he calmly gave up the ghost, on the seventeenth day of January, in this same year of our LORD, three hundred and ninety five, the sixteenth of his Empire, and the fiftieth of his age (k). Forty days after his death, his funeral was

(b) Sozom. l. 7. cap. 28. Ambros. in fun. Theod. (i) Theodor. l. 5. c. 25.
(k) Prosper. Marcel. Socr. lib 5. cap. 25.

A. D. solemniz'd in a magnificent manner at Milan, where St. Ambrose 395. spoke the oration in the presence of the young Emperor Honorius, (*l*) who was then but twelve years of age; and in the same year his body was carried over to Constantinople, where his eldest Son Arcadius, who was Emperor of the East, received him on the eighth of November, and, after a pompous funeral worthy of so great an Emperor, he placed him in the sepulchre of Constantine.

I am of opinion that whoever reads this history, will interest himself so far in all that concerns the destroyer of Arianism, that he will be very desirous of having his Picture, in order to preserve, with the more delight, the memory and idea of so wonderful a Prince. (*m*) As he held it for a great honour to be descended from the race of Trajan, he had likewise the good fortune to resemble him in the size of his stature, the beauty of his hair, the proportion of his limbs, as also in the likeness and features of his face; and, excepting that his eyes were not so large, nor his complexion so fair and delicate, and that he had not so majestick a presence as that of Trajan, no man ever did resemble him more. But if he was inferiour to him in those points, he on the other hand was superiour to him in the beauties of the mind, since, it is certain, that he possessed all the perfections of that Emperor, and was not guilty of those failings which are imputed to him. For Theodosius was bountiful, generous, magnificent, and obliging; respectful to every one according to his rank, but chiefly persons of vertue and merit, to whom he ever showed a great affection and regard; admiring men of learning and skill in arts and sciences, of which he himself had as much knowledge as was well consistent with the character of a Prince, but without affecting a superiority over others; tho' nevertheless he maintained his authority on all occasions without ostentation, and enjoyed the sweets of a sociable life with his friends, without diminishing the grandeur of his Majesty, which he knew how to soften, without exposing it to contempt. He was wise, skilful, laborious and vigilant, exposing himself to dangers, and sharing the fatigues of war, with the private soldiers; he was chaste and sober, yet nevertheless sumptuous and ele-

[(*l*) Victor, Ambr. in obit. Theod. Socr. lib. 6. cap. 1. (*m*) Victor. in Theod.

gant in the friendly entertainments which he used to make with such persons as he was pleased to admit into his company, when he had a mind to pass a few agreeable hours. He had so much gratitude, as to publish even the least good offices that he had received from private persons in his primitive fortune; he was a declared enemy to traitors, and ungrateful people, and used publicly to detest the pride, ambition, cruelty, and tyranny of Cinna, Marius, Sylla and others of the same stamp, who had inhumanly made an ill use of their power; and this he did, as he said, in order to lay himself under the happy necessity of observing a conduct intirely opposite to theirs, of which he declared so openly to have an abhorrence; and, what is still more uncommon, particularly amongst great men, (to whom great prosperity is frequently more dangerous, in respect to their morals, than great adversity) he used always to be more meek, more humane, and more obliging, as his power encreased by his victories; but above all things he was to be admired in his domestick capacity, when he used to lay aside, as it were with pleasure, his princely Majesty, (which he looked upon as a burthen), in order to give himself up to the tender cares and endearments of a husband, a father, and a master.

These, in part, are the praises which were given to him, not only by the holy fathers, who were well acquainted with him, as St. Ambrose and St. Augustin, whom, possibly, we might suspect of having too much flattered his picture: (n) But likewise by the Pagans of his time, who examined his conduct without any partiality in favour of him, because he was an enemy to their idols; (o) as, amongst others, the famous, prefect Symmachus, the most bigotted defender of Paganism, and who, writing to Flavian, (who was also a Pagan, and the same that had made war against Theodosius under Eugenius) declared ingenuously that the virtues of That Prince far excelled all that he could say upon That subject, in a publick oration, and that the picture, which he had given of him, was painted only with dead colours. This plainly shews the insolent and base malice of that famous impostor Zosimus, who seems to have written his history, only for the sake of abusing the

(n) Aur. Vict. Themist. or. 5. (o) Symm. l. 2. epist. 13.

A. D. 395. Christian Emperors. For in order to be revenged, in particular, of the great Theodosius, who (as we may see by his bitter complaints) abolished the worship and sacrifices of his idols, he blackens all his virtues, representing them as criminal excesses. Therefore, because he was humane, agreeable, beneficent to all the world, and desirous to gain the affections of mankind, by diverting them with polite entertainments, he boldly represents him, (without having any knowledge of him, contrary to the authority of cotemporary authors) as an idle, voluptuous, dissolute and prodigal Prince, who relaxed all discipline, giving himself up to the management of his Eunuchs, and of those who supplied him with money, which (as he tells us) he insatiably thirsted after; and nevertheless, because this bold impostor was manifestly confuted by the testimony of so many glorious actions and victories, he finds himself obliged to own, that during the war he became, by a kind of prodigy, a quite different person, worthy of admiration, tho' he has at other times affirmed the direct contrary. I thought it my duty to offer this publick vindication of the truth of history, so scandalously traduced by this calumniator; and that he could not be more effectually punished for his detraction than by shewing the world on this occasion, by so many authentick testimonies to the contrary, with how much assurance, and with how little ingenuity he has asserted so gross and palpable a falshood, without any apprehension of the punishment which he might well have expected from posterity, who, soon or late, will be revenged on such authors as have attempted to impose upon the world.

I do not say but that this Prince had his failings, the chief of which was this, that he was too passionate, tho' at the same time his anger was generally occasioned by such things as deserved a just indignation: (*p*) Besides, when this happened he immediately recollected himself, and shewed a becoming sense of shame, as also a readiness to forgive the offenders proportionable to the excess of his passion, which in a good measure attoned for it. So that when any persons offended him they generally found their account in his resentment, provided no evil counsellors interfered to prevent the effect of his natural goodness, for he sometimes used to let himself

(*p*) *Vit. Ambros. in fun. Theod.*

too easily be over-persuaded as well by evil, as by good advice, out of a natural propensity which inclined him to give credit to those whom he thought his friends. A. D. 395.

This too plainly appeared in the dreadful massacre of the Thessalonians, (*q*) who, thro' the greatest piece of injustice imaginable, had barbarously murdered the governour of Illiria. The Emperor, being justly provoked at this wicked action, had ordered, in the height of his anger, that a certain number of these seditious people should be put to death: (*r*) But St. Ambrose by his supplications having obtained mercy for them, he pardoned them; at the same time his principal officers, and chiefly Ruffinus, who was great master of the palace, and had an extraordinary influence over him, represented to him, that having forgiven the inhabitants of Antioch and the Arians of Constantinople, he would daily be exposed to the contempt and insults of his subjects, if he did not severely punish the horrible crime of the Thessalonians. Whereupon he put himself into so violent a passion, which encreased at these fresh remonstrances, that he gave immediate orders to his Lieutenants to destroy those seditious criminals. This command was executed with so much inhumanity, that the soldiers, as soon as the signal was given, ran sword in hand, through the street, into the houses, and into the Circus, where the people were assembled at the publick games; (*s*) and thus barbarously massacred seven thousand souls, without any distinction of age, sex, or condition, wickedly confounding the innocent with the guilty in this most cruel revenge. It is true indeed, the crime was great: But at the same time it is well known to the world, that this great prince reaped a glorious advantage from it, for his religious improvement, and for the instruction of the greatest monarchs, and the edification of the whole Church, by the remarkable penance which he performed on that account. This is the character of the great Theodosius whom JESUS CHRIST made choice of in those days to subdue Arianism; and it may be observed that this monster never would have raised his head, had not the weakness of the sons of that Emperor, and the ambition of those who governed them, gi-

(*q*) Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 24. (*r*) Paul in vit. Ambros. (*s*) Ruff. l. 2. c. 18.
Sozom. l. 7. c. 24. Paul in vit. Ambros.

A. D. 395. ven occasion to the Barbarians, who were infected with that heresy, to restore it by fire and sword; as likewise by the entire desolation of the West, and by their conquests, which were equally fatal to the Church, and Empire. I must now inform you of the causes and consequences of so deplorable a change.

After the death of Theodosius, Arcadius, (who was a young Prince, (t) between eighteen and nineteen years old) returned immediately to Constantinople, attended by Ruffinus, who had formerly governed him under the late Emperor, and being then made prefect of the pretorium, had taken upon himself the sole direction of all the affairs of the East. Honorius, to whom was left the Empire of the West, continued there under the guardianship of Stilico, who being intrusted with the care of his infancy, had assumed likewise the absolute government of his Empire. Ruffinus was a Gaul by birth, of the province of Aquitain, and Stilico was a Vandal; and, tho' the latter was a man of more skill and capacity than the other; yet they bore a pretty near resemblance with respect to their vices, which had hitherto been restrained thro' the fear they had of the great Theodosius: (u) But that obstacle being now set aside, they broke out, in a most furious manner, to the destruction of the two Empires. For they were both of them extremely ambitious, proud, cruel, avaritious, selling, equally, both justice and injustice, (x) oppressing the rich people under false pretences, and heaping up treasures at the expence of those who, to avoid their inhumanity, were forced to sacrifice to their avarice. In short, they were both watching for an opportunity to betray their masters, and assume a tyrannical power; and in order to succeed in their scheme, they, each of them, under hand, applied to the same measures, the calling in those Barbarians, who professed Arianism, which, by a just judgment of God, occasioned their ruin before the desolation of the religion and Empire, which these wretched men hastened by their detestable ambition.

This was what first occasioned their intimacy, and afterwards their disagreement: For Ruffinus was resolved to govern absolutely in the East, without advising with Stilico; and, as he aspired even to the Empire, he was using all possible means to oblige Ar-

(t) Zosim. l. 5. (u) Claud. l. 1. adv. Ruffin. Oros. l. 7. c. 38. (x) Zos. l. 5. cadus

cadus to marry his daughter. But Stilico, who had all the forces, which Theodosius had left, under his command, and had sent but very few troops along with Arcadius, (and those none of the best,) opposed him in a very resolute manner, insisting, that the Emperor had honoured him with the sole care of his two sons, and that it belonged to him only to have an inspection over both the Empires. On the other hand, the Eunuch Eutropius, who was high chamberlain to Arcadius, (y) who placed a great confidence in him, having a strong suspicion of Ruffinus, whose humour and ambition were well known to him, had formed a secret correspondence with Stilico; and immediately took proper steps to prevent Ruffinus from becoming his master's father-in-law, which he did without much difficulty, having first inspired that young prince with sentiments of love for Eudoxia, whom he espoused because of her excellent beauty. In the mean while Ruffinus, (who dreaded the power of Stilico, and was resolved to have forces which he might dispose of as he pleased) in order to bring his design to bear, had already treated with the Huns and the Alani, and invited them into the territories of the Empire on that side of Asia, (z) which accordingly they marched into, and caused most horrid devastations where ever they came. He treated likewise with Alaricus king of the Goths, who was dissatisfied, because the general command of the troops of his nation had been given to Gainas. This king, after having pillaged Thracia and Macedonia, marched into Greece, by the treacherous connivance of the proconsul Antiochus, and Gerontius, who delivered up to him the passage of the *Thermopylae*; and this army of Barbarians, meeting with no resistance, according to the orders which Ruffinus had given to those traitors, who were in the plot with him, entered into Morea, where they acted such barbarities as cannot sufficiently be deplored; and destroyed all the cities which lay without any other defence but the Isthmus, which was likewise left defenceless.

Stilico, seeing the design of his enemy, who intended to make use of these Barbarians against him, carried all his forces with him by sea into Greece, from whence he expelled them; then per-

(y) Claud. 1. 2. adv. Ruffin.
Ruffin. Zozom. 1. 5.

(z) Hieron. Epist. 3. & 4. Claud. 1. & 2. in

A. D. 388.ceiving that Ruffinus was breaking his measures by persuading Arcadius to demand the Eastern army of him, with the pretence that he had occasion for it against the Barbarians, he very artfully improved this opportunity to get rid of him. For having sent that small army back, under the command of Gainas, who was entirely at his disposal, and acted in concert with these officers, to whom Stilico had given instructions; Arcadius, according to custom, went out of Constantinople in order to receive the army, which having saluted him with great acclamations of joy, a signal was given, and the troops extending themselves to the right and left, as it were to form a circle, surrounded Ruffinus at once, (p) and pierced him with a shower of darts, which flew at him from all parts: And thus he was torn to pieces, in the presence of the Emperor, who was not very much concerned for the loss of a man, who held him under an insolent government; (q) after which they marched, as it were in triumph into Constantinople, bearing the head of this wretched man on the end of a pike; whilst one of the soldiers was shewing his right hand to the people, which by way of a cruel reproach for his insatiable avarice, he contrived to shut and open, by drawing and loosening the Nerves; which artful management gave a fine diversion to the people, to whom this tyrant was become unsupportable for his pride and barbarous extortions. A memorable and useful lesson, which ought to teach favourites and ministers of princes, not to abuse, either the weakness or good nature of their masters, in order to usurp a tyrannical authority, to the ruin of the people, for whom, as they are not their lawful princes, they never can feel the tenderness of a father. But this is a lesson which is more generally seen in the misfortunes of those men, than practised by their successors, because they are commonly so blinded by their success, that they cannot see the precipice which they are led into, by following the steps of those who went before them, without any apprehension of their tragical end.

Arcadius was no sooner delivered from one tyrant, but he fell into the hands of another, as wicked as the first. This was the Eunuch Eutropius, who, being as much addicted to avarice, ambi-

(p) Claud. l. 2. adv. Ruffin. Zof.

(q) Hieron. Epist. 3.

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ambition and cruelty, as Ruffinus had been, soon caused the like disorders throughout the Empire. (r) As he was well acquainted with the dispositions of Stilico, with whom he had plotted against Ruffinus, and that he thought himself in danger of being treated by him in the same manner, as that wicked man had been, he persuaded the Emperor, his master, over whom he had an absolute ascendancy, to declare him in open senate, an enemy to the Republic. Besides, he drew into his party Gildonus, who had already for some time begun to act the tyrant in Africa. This was one of the sons of Nubelus, an ally of the Romans, (s) and one of the most potent Princes amongst the Moors. As he had faithfully served the father of Theodosius against his own brother, the tyrant Firmus, that Prince being come to the Empire, gave him the government of Africa, during which he acted all manner of violences; and, adding his ingratitude to so many crimes, he refused to send the assistance, which Theodosius required of him against Eugenius. (t) Therefore, fearing the resentment and valour of Stilico, he declared himself against him in favour of Eutropius, and prevented the transport of corn from Africa, in order to famish Rome, and oblige it to rise up in rebellion. But Stilico, without being at all concerned at the revolt of Gildonus, sent immediately a body of men against him, commanded by Mascezilus, a brother of that tyrant, who had inhumanly caused his children to be put to death. This Mascezilus was so fortunate, that, with five thousand men, he defeated Gildonus, who had an army of sixty thousand, and, being taken prisoner, strangled himself with his own hands, and thus died in a desperate manner.

A. D.
396.

A. D.
397.

It is reported, that three days before the battle was fought, as Mascezilus was just going to enter into a deep vale, where he found himself obliged to incamp, at night he saw in a dream St. Ambrose, who died on the Easter-eve of the foregoing year, and that this holy Bishop said to him three times, striking the ground with his Crozier, *This is the place, this is the place, this is the very place*; which obliged him to stop there, in order to form his camp

A. D.
398.

(r) Zos. lib. 5. (s) Ammian. l. 19. (t) Claud. de Bello Gildon. August. contr. Lit. Petil. & cont. Parm. Claud. in Eutrop. Claud. in 6. Consul. Hon. Claud. de Bello Gildon. Oros. l. 7. c. 36.

A. D. 398. for a battle: That on the third day, the enemy appearing, he marched up directly to them with his small army; but first had prepared himself, by partaking of the holy mysteries. At the first attack with his sword, he obliged the next man to him that carried the colours, to surrender them, which persuaded the Romans, who were with Gildonus, that the soldiers, who were in the first ranks, had surrendered themselves to Mascezilus; so that they immediately marched up and joined his army; which caused so great a surprize in the Barbarians, that, though their numbers were still infinitely greater than all the Romans joined together, their heart failed them, and they ran away almost without striking a stroke. (u) As the writers of those days have related this adventure, and that Mascezilus himself, being returned to Milan, (x) published it in all places, and in the presence of judicious persons, who declared that they had received it from his own mouth, and had taken some pains to enquire strictly into all the circumstances of that affair, it would, in my opinion, be looked upon as too scrupulous a nicety, to reject it as one of those visions, which are delivered down to us without either proof or authority; and since it does contribute so much to the glory of St. Ambrose, who bore so considerable a share in the History of *Arianism*, I thought myself obliged to insert this small account of an event which made so great noise, and was, after the death of that eminent Prelate, the testimony of his Holiness, and the crown of all the glorious actions of his life.

But after all this it unfortunately happened, that Mascezilus, who had done so great a piece of service to the Empire, was miserably cut off by the treachery of the very person, (y) for whom he had done the kindest offices, and who, likewise, seemed reciprocally to treat him with the greatest marks of honour. For Stilico, who was now become father-in-law to the Emperor, and absolute master of the Empire, whether he envied the merits of Mascezilus, or feared lest he should one day follow the steps of his brother; or whether it were through the false insinuations of others, that he grew jealous of him; I say, whether it were for these, or any other reasons, no-body can tell, neither could any of

(u) Oros.

(x) Paul, in vit. Ambr.

(y) Zos. l. 5.

them have justified so black an action; but, as Stilico was passing over a bridge in his way to a country-seat, in company with Mascezilus, he gave a certain signal to his guards, who suddenly seized on that unfortunate prince, and flung him into the river; whilst Stilico at the same time set up a prodigious laughter, as if the thing had been done out of a merry joke, though nevertheless poor Mascezilus, who was struggling in vain with his hands and feet against the rapidity of the stream, was drowned in his presence. This shews how dangerous it is to perform great things, when we serve ambitious men, who cannot even bear those very virtues which are of use to them, when they give too great a lustre, and are apt to create jealousy.

In the mean while the Emperor Arcadius, who suffered himself to be over-ruled, and to whom the often changing of masters proved fatal, was most barbarously treated by the most dangerous of all, who laid a scheme to ruin him, and to restore Arianism in the Empire. (z) This was Gainas, who was general of the Goths in the Roman army, and a most inveterate Arian. He could no longer bear the overgrowing power of the Eunuch Eutropius, who assumed every thing to himself, and who, to the reproach of the Romans, had obtained the consulship this year; (a) therefore he resolved not only to destroy him, and take his place, but even to invade the Empire of the East. In order to effect this design, after having agreed on proper measures with Trigibaldus, a relation of his who commanded the auxiliary troops of Arian Goths, who were quartered in Phrigia; this Trigibaldus, having declared himself dissatisfied with the government, caused such great devastations throughout Asia, that Arcadius saw himself under the necessity of sending the best general he had to oppose him; and this was Gainas who was an experienced warrior, and professed an extraordinary zeal for his service. But, far from opposing this rebel, he underhand gave him assistance against the other generals, and by this means became so formidable, that he began already to threaten Constantinople.

Hereupon the traytor Gainas, pretending it was impossible to resist the power and conduct of Trigibaldus, whom he highly com-

(z) Zos. l. 5. (a) Oros. l. 7. Socr. lib. 6. c. 6. Prosp. Marcel.

A. D. 399. mended, gave the Emperor to understand, that he could not possibly save the state, but by granting to that general what he demanded with seeming justice; and this was the head of Eutropius, who was the cause of all the calamities, which were then brought upon the Empire. As Eutropius was abhorred by all the people, and even by Arcadius, for the insolent treatment, which he had received from him; and chiefly for his behaviour to the Empress Eudoxia, (*b*) whom he had threatened to send back to the place, from whence he had taken her. This Princess, from being an abject creature of his, was grown a proud and implacable enemy to him. All these reasons, I say, were sufficient to make the Emperor resolve, without hesitation, to sacrifice him immediately to the publick good, and deliver him up to Gainas, who, as it plainly appeared, had underhand persuaded Trigibaldus to act in this manner. Therefore the Emperor, having divested Eutropius of all his marks of dignity, he first expelled him the palace, with a resolution to send guards instantly after him, in order to seize on him in his house. (*c*) But this wretched man, who, not long before, had caused laws to be published against the rights of the Church, was no sooner come out of the palace in this miserable condition, but, instead of going home to his house, he ran with all speed to the great Church, in order to take sanctuary at the feet of the altars.

On this occasion it was that St. John Chrysostom shewed his generosity, and force of eloquence in a wonderful manner. In the foregoing year he had succeeded Nectarius in the pontifical chair of Constantinople, (*d*) after having been five years a deacon, and twelve years priest of the Church of Antioch. As the people were assembled in a tumultuous manner, requiring this wicked man to be brought out of the Church, in order to be delivered up to Gainas, and to the rebels who demanded him, this holy bishop in the first place prevented the soldiers from entering the Church to take him: Then, as he saw the Church full of people, who were come from all parts to see this wretched fellow embracing the altars, and begging his life, which no body was willing to grant him; he went up

(*b*) Sozom. l. 8. c. 7. Niceph. l. 13. c. 4.
confugiant ad Eccl. Cod. Theod. Zof.
Chron.

(*c*) Sozom. *ibid.* L. 3. de his qui
(*d*) Socr. lib. 6. cap. 2. Marcell. in

into the chair, and without deliberation spoke an admirable homily, (e) which may be said to be the master-piece of a most consummate eloquence. For, after having made some concessions to the people, and artfully given some satisfaction to their just resentment, to give a little vent to the violence of it, reproaching Eutropius with the number of his crimes, which brought down upon him the vengeance both of heaven, and earth; he so industriously turned their minds to the merciful side, by every consideration, divine, and human, that could excite compassion towards an unhappy man, who from so high a station was fallen into an abyss of misery, that he drew tears from the eyes of the whole assembly, who now in a lamentable manner beg for that life, which a few moments before they were solicitous to destroy. For, indeed, St. Chrysostom did not deliver up Eutropius into the hands of the Emperor's officers, (f) till they first had taken an oath, that his life should be saved, tho' upon condition that he should be sent into banishment in the Island of Cyprus. But Gainas, who had not heard St. John Chrysostom's oration, and who, being a hardened Arian, was not naturally of a merciful disposition, tho' it was afterwards repeated to him, yet he pressed the Emperor so urgently to have this unfortunate Eunuch, whose death he sought, delivered to him, that he found himself at last obliged to send him to him at Calcedonia, where he caused him to be beheaded.

The affairs of Arcadius, notwithstanding, were not retrieved: (g) For the perfidious Gainas, having obtained what he required, caused greater disorders than before; and, having made himself master of Bythinia and Hellepont, he reduced the Emperor to such extremities, that he even obliged him shamefully to come to him at Calcedonia, where this Barbarian would make him appear in person in order to treat with him upon articles of a peace: Which were, that Aurelianus Saturninus, a man of a consular dignity, and John, who was first secretary, and a favourite of the Emperor's, should be delivered up to him; yet, nevertheless, he granted them their lives, contenting himself with striking them slightly with the flat side of his sword; besides that Gainas, and Trigibaldus, should march with their forces up to Con-

(e) Hom. in Eutrop.

(f) Zos.

(g) Zosim. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 4.

stantinople,

A. D. 400. Constantinople, that Gainas should be appointed Generalissimo of all the Emperor's armies, with an absolute power equally over the Romans, and Goths. This was directly putting the Empire into his hands: And accordingly he did not omit to take all the speediest measures he thought proper to secure it to himself, under the favour of so great an employment, and to cause himself to be proclaimed Emperor with the restoration of Arianism.

To this end, as soon as he was arrived at Constantinople, where all submitted to his power, he dispersed his Arian Goths throughout all the parts of the town, in order to have people ready at all times, and in all places, to execute his commands, according to the scheme he had laid. And under the pretence of making new recruits, and filling up the companies of that nation, which had been very much weakened by the war, he caused a great number of them to come into the city at different times, so that, being superiour to the Romans, the latter would be compelled to obey; when his design should be ready to be put in execution. Besides, in order to be the more secure, he sent most of the Roman soldiers to distant garrisons, under colour of reinforcing them, and providing for the safety of the provinces, whilst at the same time he was gathering up all the Goths, whom he had quartered round about the city. Having taken these measures, he resolved to go directly to Arcadius, and demand a Church of him, wherein the Arians might freely and publicly exercise their religion; that, in case of a refusal, he might have a good pretence, being backed by a strong army, to make a party, who would be glad to acknowledge him for Emperor. This request seemed surprizing to Arcadius, who abhorred the thoughts of delivering a Church to him, being a Prince of extraordinary piety, and a good catholic. But as he was very weak, he had not resolution enough to resist this Barbarian, (*b*) to whom he promised to grant what he demanded, desiring only a little time to consult with the Patriarch, whose consent he would endeavour to obtain. And accordingly he used his endeavours to persuade him that there was a necessity to comply with the Goth, least he should be provoked to anger, who, having the power in his own hands, might make himself master of the Em-

(*b*) Theodor. l. 5. cap. 32. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 4.

pire, and then destroy the religion. But St. Chrysostom, whom nothing was able to dishearten, when the glory of JESUS CHRIST was concerned, encouraged this weak Prince, who was in great fear; and told him with wonderful resolution that he ought, on no account to be afraid of this Barbarian, whom, GOD would undoubtedly confound, because he was an Arian. But that, if he would summon them both to come and debate the matter in his presence, he should have the pleasure of seeing how he would handle that subject.

Arcadius, who was over-joyed to find this resolution in the bishop, sent to give notice to Gainas, that he should come the next day to the palace where St. John Chrysostom would meet him; and accordingly he was no sooner entered into the Emperor's presence, (i) but he demanded the performance of the promise, which he had given him of granting a Church for his Arians: To which the holy prelate answered, "That all the Churches of Constantinople were open to every one, and that no body was hindered from going thither to offer up their prayers. The Barbarian replied, that, being of a different belief from his, he required likewise a Church which was convenient for those of his communion to assemble with him, in order to serve GOD after their own way." And as he expressed himself in a bold and haughty manner, saying, "That this was the least reward that was due to him for the considerable services, which he had rendered unto the Empire, St. Chrysostom said with an undaunted courage, since you mention reward, only remember what you was before, and consider what you are now: Formerly a private soldier, in a mean habit, with poor diet, and even in want of all necessities, when you passed the Danube; and now general of the Roman forces, blessed with plenty and riches, loaded with honours, and clothed in gold and purple; enjoying, thro' the favour of the Emperor, all the advantages of the greatest fortune that ever befel a subject. Only consider, as I said to you, these two extremities, and compare the one with the other; and then you will be forced to own, in spite of the great opinion you have of your services, that the reward, which you have received, does

(i) Theodor.

" infinitely

A. D. "infinitely exceed whatever you might deserve by your actions.
 400. "Take care that you do not fall into the highest ingratitude, by
 "forgetting so many favours, and remembering only your services,
 "for which you demand a reward. (k) Remember only the oath
 "which you swore to the great Theodosius, when he gave you the
 "command of the troops of your nation. Did you not swear to
 "him before the great GOD, that you would be for ever faithful
 "to him, to his children, and to the Empire, and that you would
 "always inviolably keep those laws, which you would now vio-
 "late? Did he not forbid, by his edicts, all assemblies of Here-
 "ticks, and particularly those of the Arians? Then, addressing
 himself to the Emperor, he said to him, with a very majestick air;
 "Did you not, likewise, publish the same laws immediately af-
 "ter your father's death? Nay moreover, Sir, I declare to you, in
 "the name of GOD, that, altho' neither you, nor the great Theo-
 "dosius, your father, had made those laws, you could not, with-
 "out a crime, give up the house of GOD to the declared enemy of
 "his son; and that, in spite of all the political maxims of men, it
 "would be better for you to resolve on the loss of the Empire,
 "rather than betray, so shamefully and ignominiously, the interest
 "of the true religion.

This was a strong representation; and Gainas, who probably might have been offended at it, and seemed to be so resolute at the beginning of the conference, made no manner of reply: (l) But retired quietly, without insisting on his demand. This perhaps he did, either because he was then convinced by the reasonings of the holy bishop, or out of respect to his person: But it is more probable that he was not sorry to have a pretence to execute the scheme he had already laid of rendring himself master of Constantinople, and of the Empire. For indeed, in a few days after this conference, he attempted to seize all the money of the bankers, who, being informed of his design, had taken care to conceal it; he also would have set fire to the palace in the night-time, (m) but, being prevented, he retired to a country seat, in order, as he pretended, to be attended in a fit of illness. And at the same time he gave orders to a party of the Goths to follow him privately, as

(k) Sozom. l. 3. c. 4.

(l) Theod.

(m) Sozom. l. 8. c. 4. Zosim. Sozom.

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it were by way of paying a visit to their general, but the real intent was, to conceal their arms, which they sent out in covered carts, and empty casks, that they might prevent any suspicion. And as for the other Goths, whom he had placed in all the different quarters of the city, and who were in number much more superiour to the Romans, (n) he commanded them, on a certain day, to seize suddenly on all the principal places of the city, and to fall upon the soldiers of the guard, and those who kept the gates, whilst he himself, at the same instant, would come with the whole army in order to scale the walls. And he certainly would have succeeded in his design, had he not destroyed it by his own brutish impatience. For being too sanguine in his opinion of the success in this undertaking, and not doubting but his people, whom he had left in the city, would second him as soon as he should appear at the gates, he came before the time, which he had appointed, and marched up directly in order to attack the walls. It happened, likewise, that about the same time, as one of the carts, with arms in it, was going out, it was discovered by chance; and that some of the Goths, who were watching it, seeing themselves surpris'd, (o) they fell sword in hand upon the guard. Thus the conspiracy being discovered, the people of the city gave the alarm, and immediately took arms, and by the Emperor's orders they all fell at once upon the Goths, who were not ready, and did not expect this sudden attack. Thus some of them were killed with swords, and others stoned to death, without distinction of persons; whatever came in their way, men, women, and children, they were all massacred without mercy, or resistance, the Goths not being able to form themselves into a body. In the mean while the pretorian soldiers, followed by some of the boldest of the citizens, ran to the walls, and there repuls'd the soldiers of Gainas without much difficulty; for they had no engines with them, and they attacked the walls without, only in expectation that their companions would at the same time seize on the city within. So that Gainas, being thus disappointed on all sides, for not having taken his measures right, was forced to retire, and leave behind him the bravest of his men lying dead at the foot of the walls.

A. D.
400.

(n) Zosim.

(o) Sozom.

VOL. II.

I

But

A. D. But this was not the end of his disgrace; for the Emperor, being
 400. encouraged by this success, and provoked, as he had just cause, at the perfidiousness of this traitor, and the horrid conspiracy which he had contrived with his Arians, he declared him an enemy to the Empire, and gave orders that what remained of the Barbarians should be put to the sword. So that the whole city, (*p*) who had no more enemies to fear without, embracing this opportunity of being revenged, after having killed all the Goths, whom they found in the streets and houses, and set fire to those places, where they used to meet for the celebration of their mysteries, contrary to the edicts of the Emperor, they put to death upwards of seven thousand more, who fled for refuge to a great Church, where they were partly burnt, and partly destroyed with arrows, which were shot at them from the roof, which was demolished in order to kill them more expeditiously, and without resistance. (*q*) Thus ended that bloody day of the general massacre of the Goths at Constantinople, which happened on the twelfth day of July in this year four hundred, which included the fourth century.

Gainas being heartily afflicted at his having missed his aim, by his precipitation; and enraged at the loss of his people at Constantinople, ravaged the whole country, and caused dreadful devastations throughout Thracia, in order to be revenged; and, tho' he had received St. John Chrysostom with great respect, (*r*) who came out to meet him with a view of making up this affair, and bringing it to some kind of accommodation, he resolved, seeing that the towns of Thracia were in a good state of defence, to carry the war into Asia, where he was in hopes of making considerable conquests with as much ease as he had done before by the means of Trigibaldus. Therefore turning off suddenly to the right, he marched with all his forces into Chersonesus, in order to pass the Hellespont over against Lampascus; and, as he had no ships, he had so much temerity and presumption as to cause his troops to pass over upon floats of timber, (*s*) in defiance of the Roman army, which was at his head, under the command of general Flavitta, to whom, tho' a Goth and Pagan, Arcadius had committed the care of his troops both by

(*p*) Sozom. (*q*) Chronic. Alex. (*r*) Theod. l. 5. c. 33. Zosim. Socr. lib. 6. c. 6. (*s*) Zosim. Socr. 1.

sea, and land, because he was a great warrior, and had given convincing proofs of his fidelity, particularly upon this occasion. For, having feigned an intention to retire and lie by, as it were, on the defensive, till the greatest part of the enemies were advanced, he then made up to them so timely, with good ships, which he had prepared for that purpose, (t) that the wind declaring in his favour against the Barbarians, they were all sunk to the bottom, on the twenty third of December, some by the storm, and others by the strength of his ships; all which was done in the sight of Gainas, who was despairing on the shore. And at last, as this traitor was endeavouring to make his escape on the other side of the Danube, with the small number of troops, which were left him, tho' still pursued and defeated by the Romans, passing thro' Thracia, (u) he was killed, after having fought bravely in a battle, which he lost against Uldes, king of the Huns, who would not admit of these new visitors, in a country which he had taken, by conquest, from the Goths.

After this action, Uldes, in order to make the most of his victory, sent the head of the perfidious Gainas to the Emperor Arcadius, who acknowledged himself so greatly obliged to him, that, besides the magnificent presents, which he sent him, he made an alliance with him. Thus the mighty expectations of the Arians, not only of being reinstated, but likewise of governing, under the favour of Gainas, on whose fortune they depended, were all destroyed with the loss of that wretched man; and soon after they found themselves so much the more humbled, because they had insolently attempted to domineer during his tyranny. For, according to the genius of hereticks, who always assume authority when they think their party the strongest, so the Arians of Constantinople, as soon as they saw themselves supported by so powerful a protector, they first took the liberty to assemble near the walls of the city, and there, contrary to the edicts of the Emperor, in open day, were so bold as to exercise their pretended religion, and as their boldness encreased, (x) they met together in the very city, on all the vigils of holy-days, and on every Saturday, where, under large

(t) Socr. Chronic. Alex. lib. 8. cap. 8.

(u) Zosim.

(x) Socr. lib. 6. cap. 8. Sozom.

A. D. portico's, in the night-time, they sung hymns and canticles, in favour of their heresy, in opposition to the doctrine and truth of the catholick religion. Nay, they did more; for, not being contented with these nocturnal songs, they were so bold as to continue them in the morning, both in the streets and other places, singing the same things in a chorus, as they passed thro' the city two and two, in order to go to the place of their assembly; and they carried their impudence so far as to add this horrible impiety at the end of some of their verses, which they repeated all together with a loud voice on purpose to insult the catholicks: "Where are these people, who say that three are but one Godhead?" As the government was then in fear of Gainas, they did not dare to suppress these hereticks by main force; but St. John Chrysostom thought on a pious stratagem, to suppress them by the same methods, by which they had resolved to provoke the catholicks. For this purpose he composed two glorious hymns in honour of JESUS CHRIST, the true GOD, consubstantial with his father; which he ordered his people to sing in the night-time; and accordingly they shewed an extraordinary zeal, and ran in crowds to these holy assemblies, where the office was celebrated with a much greater concourse of people than that of the Arians, and with much more pomp and magnificence, thro' the care and bounty of the Empress Eudoxia.

This Princess, who was not as yet entirely at variance with St. John Chrysostom, took so great a delight in these new canticles, and shewed so much zeal for the glory of the Son of GOD, that, in order that he should triumph over the Arians, in the celebration of these feasts and praises, she appointed one of her principal officers to take care that all things should be performed with order and magnificence, and that nothing should be omitted that might render the ceremony compleatly glorious: which was accordingly done. For the Church, where this feast was held, was richly adorned; and amongst other ornaments were seen a prodigious number of silver crosses sparkling with lights, which were carried before the singers, divided into several ranks. This highly provoked the Arians, whose assembly (which was only composed of ordinary people) could not perform any thing equal to the splendour and majesty of these holy ceremonies of the orthodox party. Therefore not being able, either to do any thing that was equal to that magnificence,

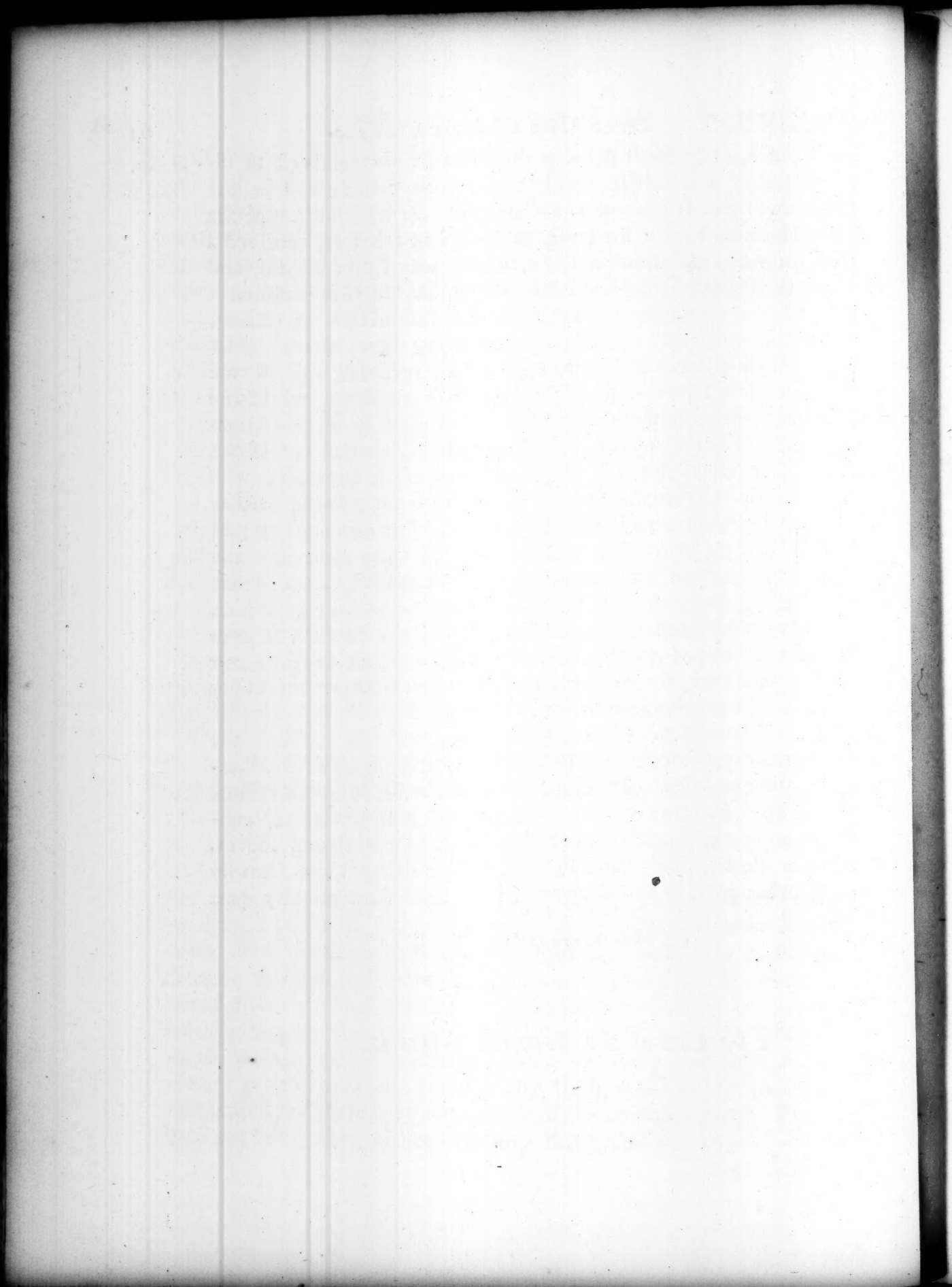
magnificence, or to see it done by the others, they resolved to disturb them, by a dreadful tumult which they raised; and in the night time they fell upon the Catholicks in which disorder the officer belonging to the Empress, as mentioned before, received a wound in his head from a stone, which was flung at him, and there were several citizens of both sides killed on this occasion.

A. D.
401,

But as the massacre of the Goths, and destruction of Gainas, happened immediately after, Arcadius, being now become absolute master, and having a just cause to be incensed against the Arians for their attempt, he prohibited those meetings, whilst the Catholicks from that time continued theirs quietly at Constantinople; (b) and at the request of St. Chrysostom, he even turned out of that City the principal ring-leaders of those hereticks, who would not be converted. So that since that time, having neither power nor protection, and the holy Bishop by his exhortations and eloquence having every day brought some of them back into the Church, their party at last became so low, weak and despicable in that imperial city, that they were scarcely taken any notice of. Which shews that when heresy is once supported by authority, it ever carries its insolence to the highest pitch, without keeping any measures; and that, for the same reason, when we have the upper hand of it, we ought vigorously to suppress it, and not give it time to find means to raise its head. But, tho' the Arian Goths were so entirely crushed, in the East, by the massacre of Constantinople, and the defeat of Gainas, yet those evils, which Rufinus had occasioned by arming them against the Romans, were too considerable to be cured with that remedy, which how strong soever, yet it was nevertheless the means of their falling more heavily on that other part of the Empire, as we shall immediately perceive.

(b) *Metaph. in vita Chrysost.*

The End of the Seventh Book.





T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A R I A N I S M.

B O O K V I I I.

STILICO, after having driven Alaricus, King of the Goths, out of the Morea, being obliged to return into Italy, this Prince, who had escaped falling into his hands in the manner before-mentioned, was now at liberty to carry his forces into Thes-
falia, Greece and Epirus, where he caused strange devastations during the disorders, which happened at Constanti-
nople. But the defeat of Gainas, and the massacre of all his Goths having put an end to them, he thought that, being no longer privately supported by Rufinus, who had persuaded him into his measures, all the forces of the Eastern Empire would soon fall upon him, and that there was no possibility of resisting them. On the
other

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A. D. other hand, as he perceived that all things were quiet in Italy, where Stilico governed without opposition, and thought himself secure from any invasion, he imagined, that he might surprize him, and even fall upon Rome without much difficulty, the Romans not suspecting that any one, at that time, could make such an attempt. Besides, he ever flattered himself with the thoughts of fortune's calling him to Rome, and believed the time was now come, which would make him master of the Empire, (*a*) as it had been foretold him by a false oracle that had appointed the year following for this event, which was the 30th year from the time of his passing the Danube; during which he had sometimes made war against the Romans, and at other times fought for them. Alaricus being brave and resolute in the execution of any enterprize, when once he had determined it, he re-united all his forces, which were increased with a prodigious number of Barbarians, who were come to him from all parts, in hopes of sharing the plunder; and having marched through Illiria with all the expedition imaginable, he seized on the passage of the Julian Alps, which he found unguarded, and entered into Italy by the way of Triuli, when it was the least expected. So that without difficulty he ran over the country, which he laid waste as he pleased; and made himself master of several cities, which he took without resistance, and thus carried his conquests very far in a little time, both on this and the other side of the Po, by reason that the Roman army, being then employed against some of the people of Rethia, (*b*) and Vindelicia, who had risen up in rebellion, he met with no enemy to oppose him.

This sudden irruption struck the whole country with terror, and caused a general disorder, but particularly at Rome, where, because of the long peace which they had enjoyed, and the safety wherein they thought themselves, all things were in a defenceless state. They already believed this new Hanibal at their gates, and the chief men of the city, instead of thinking on proper means to defend themselves, were preparing to abandon it, in order to find safety in their flight. (*c*) But the wise conduct, bravery, and re-

(*a*) Claudia. de bell. Get.
Varia.

(*b*) The Country of the Grisons Suabia. Ba-
(*c*) Claud. de Bell. Get.

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olution of Stilico, soon restored the affairs into a good condition, and gave him an opportunity of acquiring more honour and power than ever. (d) As soon as he heard that Alaricus's had invaded Italy, he gave necessary orders for the security of the city by new fortifications, and raising fresh forces; then repaired with a small attendance to Milan, from whence, having marched immediately to Coma, he passed over the lake, and the Alps, in the middle of the winter, and joined the Roman army, which was making war against the rebels. (e) Here he so artfully prepossest the minds of these people, and so entirely terrified them by his presence and resolution, that he not only brought them back to their duty, but even persuaded them to join his army. To these he likewise added the auxiliary troops of the Huns, and Alani, whom he had ordered to be ready in Pannonia for another design; and, having repassed the Alps in the beginning of the spring, he marched directly to Alaricus, who was not a little surprized to see so powerful an army at his back, whilst at the same time the fresh forces, which had been raised in a hurry at Rome, during the winter, were advancing, in order to oppose his passage. He had taken up his winter quarters in that part of Liguria, which is now called Piemont, and at this time he was encamped in the neighbourhood of Pollentia, (f) which in those days was a considerable city, situated on the borders of the Tanarus, and Stura, and is now but a small village, where you may to this day see the ruins of an Amphitheatre, not far from Cerisoles, which appears so memorable in History, by the compleat victory which the Duke D'Anguien obtained over the Spanish army, then commanded by the Marquis du Guast.

In this very place it was, that Alaricus drew up his army in order of battle, and seeing that Stilico was marching directly to him, without waiting for the new levees, whom he had no mind to expose, and that he himself could neither advance, nor retire, being between the two armies, he gave battle in hopes of gaining the victory, having but one foe to deal with; (g) and indeed the advantage at first was on his side, having broke the horse of the Alani, who began the attack, and killed the general that commanded

(d) Claud. de 6. con. Hon. (e) Claud. de Bell. Get. de Bell. Get.

(f) Polenza. (g) Claud.

A. D. them. But Stilico advancing timely with the Roman Legions, 403. rallied the Alani, with fresh vigour, who, seeing themselves so well supported, engaged the Goths a second time, and repulsed them in their turn; and as they were ashamed to have stained their honour, by being at the head of those who turned their backs to the enemy, as likewise enraged to have lost their commander, fought with more fury, in order to revenge his death. Hereupon Stilico, without giving the enemy time to consider, fell upon them with the Roman legions, who fought with so much courage, that there scarcely ever was seen such a slaughter; not a soldier would even stop to plunder the chariots, which were loaded with the spoils of so many ruined provinces, till the victory was compleated. (*b*) Alaricus, seeing himself undone if he persisted to fight any longer, retired with the major part of his horse, to that part of the mountains, which joins the Alps to the Appenine, but Stilico immediately marched after him with his whole army, (*i*) and surrounded him amongst the rocks. So that he must of necessity, either have perished, or surrender'd at discretion, had not Stilico himself saved him from the danger he was in, contrary to his expectation, in order to make use of him in the design he had formed to satisfy his own ambition, which action not only blasted all his glory, but even cost him his life, and the intire ruin of his whole family.

As it is peculiar to ambitious men to despise what they possess, be their possession ever so large and insatiably to thirst after accumulated honour and power; This man, who had married the niece of the great Theodosius, and was father in law to Honorius, (*k*) whom he governed with more power than any favourite ever governed his master before, did not think himself happy enough, unless he could secure the Empire to his own family; and to this end he laid a scheme, which was carried on with the utmost secrecy, in order that his only son Eucherius should be proclaimed Emperor; he had caused this youth to be brought up in Paganism, which he thought would engage the Pagans to adhere to his interest, when occasion should require it; and in or-

(*b*) Prud. adver. Symmach. Claud. de Bell. Get. (*i*) Claud. de 6. Confu. Hon. (*k*) Oros. l. 7. c. 28. Marcell. in Chron. Sozom. l. 9. c. 4. Sozom. ib. & l. 8. c. 25. Oros.

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der to succeed in his design, he resolved to promote a war between the two Emperors, and to bring into the Empire as great a number of Barbarians as he could, that they might be useful to him, when he wanted their assistance; and that when all things were in a confusion, and reduced to the utmost extremity, he might then form the specious pretence of a necessity for creating a new Emperor.

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Having fixed on this resolution, (l) he would not by any means utterly destroy Alaricus, as it was in his power to do, with a great deal of ease. On the contrary, he made use of this opportunity to befriend so powerful a prince, and so great a general, who at all times would have a standing army ready to obey his commands. He therefore treated secretly with him, by the means of some person in whom he could confide, and received a promise from him that he would always continue in his interest, if he would not only favour his escape, but likewise supply him with means to put himself in a better condition than ever. After this, in order to disguise the affair, he made a publick treaty with him, (m) by which this prince obliged himself immediately to depart from Italy, and to retire with the remainder of his troops into Epirus, till his assistance was called for in the war against Arcadius, for the restitution of Sclavonia, which that Emperor unjustly possessed, contrary to the right of Honorius. For this was the pretence, which Stilico had taken, to create a difference between these two Emperors. Thus the power of the Arians was restored by the very man, who had just overthrown them by so compleat a victory; and an enemy, whose intentions were to triumph over Rome, was preserved by the person who intended, by his means, to make himself master of the Empire. For thus ambition, that prompts men to act all manner of crimes, when subservient to their ends, is whimsical in its conduct, and unsuccessful in its ill contrived designs.

Nevertheless there happened several obstacles to this civil war, which Stilico was not inclined to begin, till first he had treated, under hand, with the other nations, whom he proposed to invite into the territories of the Empire, in order to put his project in execution. But he was prevented by other Barbarians, with whom he had not treated as yet, and whose defeat only served to raise

(l) Oros. l. 7. c. 28. (m) Claud. de 6. Consu. Hon. Zos. l. 5.

A. D. him still higher, that his fall might prove greater and more fatal.
 403. (n) Rhadagaisus, king of the Ostrogoths, and a Pagan, who was an irreconcilable enemy to the Christians, having followed the steps and example of Alaricus, invaded Italy with a dreadful army of above two hundred thousand men, composed partly of Arian Goths, and partly of Pagans, whom he had drawn out of all the Barbarian nations, who inhabited the territories on the other side of the Danube. This prince, without making any stay in the Cisalpin Gaul, as Alaricus had done, marched directly towards Rome, vowing to his Gods, to whom he daily offered up sacrifices, that he soon would make them a more agreeable offering of Christian blood in the capitol. The Romans, who were struck with terror at the approach of this prodigious multitude of Barbarians, who left in all places most horrible marks of their fury, which they saw no possibility of resisting, thought themselves now utterly undone. And the Pagans, believing their time was come, repaired to Rome from all parts; and joining with those of the city, and senate, who still retained their ancient superstitions, they said aloud, in an insolent manner, that if the approaching enemies were powerful, and to be feared for their numbers, and for the strength of their troops, they were much more so by reason of the protection of the Gods whom they worshipped, (o) and by whom they were called to Rome, in order totally to destroy it; and by that means, revenge the injuries which the Christians had acted against them, when they pulled down their altars, and abolished their sacrifices, on which depended that everlasting state which had been so often promised to their city by the oracles. (p) In short, scarce any thing was heard but the blasphemies of the Pagans, whose insolence the Romans did not dare to suppress, and who boldly demanded the restoration of their sacrifices, which they openly said, was the only means left to pacify the Gods, and save Rome.

In the mean while the Barbarians were marching on with diligence, along the Apennine, laying waste all the country where

(n) Oros. l. 7. cap. 37. August. l. 5. de Civit. cap. 23. Prosper. Marcell. in Chron. Zos. lib. 5. August. Serm. 29. in Luc. (o) Oros. *ibid.* (p) Aug. 5. de Civ. cap. 23.

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they passed, till they came into the neighbourhood of Florence, where GOD had resolved to destroy them at once, in the most strange and surprizing manner that ever was known, in order to confound Paganism, (q) and to shew the world that the punishment, which he had designed Rome for its sins, should not be ascribed to the wrath of the false deities, nor inflicted on them by the hands of Pagans. For Stilico, having advanced towards Florence with the Roman army, re-inforced by the auxiliary troops of Huns, and Goths, who were paid by the Romans, and commanded by Huldinus, and Sarus, two famous captains of those nations; GOD (if I may express myself in scriptural terms) poured down such a spirit of terror and giddiness on this dreadful army of Barbarians, and particularly on Rhadagaisus himself, that, having intirely lost his reason, he ran away in a tumultuous and disorderly manner, as if he had been pursued by a superiour number of people, and concealed himself in the mountains of the Apennine, near Fiesoli, without having made any provision for subsistence. So that Stilico, having placed a strong guard at all the passages and roads by which they could go, and come; the Barbarians found themselves blocked up amongst the rocks, (r) as the Romans had formerly been by the Samnites in the *Furca Caudina*. And soon after, being thus surrounded by the Romans, who were feasting and rejoicing in their camp, whilst the Barbarians were oppressed with hunger and faintness, they all fell into the hands of Stilico, without the expence of one drop of Roman blood; nor could even Rhadagaisus himself make his escape, tho' he had endeavoured it, with his children, who being retaken, the victorious army sometime made sport with him, then cut off his head. (s) The number of the captives being prodigious, they were sold, like ordinary cattle, at a crown a head; (t) and at last there was so little value set on them, that even whole troops of them were disposed of for the very same price, looking on them as miserable abandoned herds; and as it was the will of GOD, (to the greater confusion of the Pagans) they all perished within a few days after their captivity, (u) so entirely that there was not one of them left to carry the news of their misfortune to their country, which was situate be-

(q) Oros. August. loc. cit. (r) Oros. (s) Marcell. (t) Oros. (u) Oros. yond

A. D. yond the Danube. So that their death put their masters to a greater expence, (they being obliged to bury them) than that which they had been at in the purchase of them.

This victory rendered Stilico more glorious than any action that he had ever performed before. (w) He was led in triumph through all the towns he passed, saluted with acclamations, and looked upon as the man who had saved the Empire from ruin, whilst at the same time he was undermining its foundations by his treacherousness, and reducing it to so deplorable a state, that soon after it was totally destroyed in the West. (x) For on the last day of that same year the Vandals, the Alani, and Suevi, whom he had invited, passed over the Rhine, and were followed by other Barbarians who held a correspondence with him, (y) and who, making incursions throughout Gaul, as far as the Pirenees, and ocean, committed most horrible devastations. All the most flourishing cities were destroyed; Reims, Amiens, Arras, Tournai, Terouenne, and several other towns on the borders of the Rhine, and Maese, in the Belgick Gaul, being taken by these Barbarians, who were partly idolaters, and partly Arians, they underwent all the violences and cruelties that could be expected from a race of people, who seemed to live only for the destruction of mankind. Mayence, which in those days was a catholick city, and very famous, was totally demolished. Many thousands of people, who had retired to the Church in order to find a sanctuary at the feet of the altars, were all sacrificed by the sword of these unmerciful enemies both of God, and man. They carried desolation with them where-ever they passed, putting all to fire and sword on this, and on the other side of the Rhone, as far as the Narbonian Gaul, leaving behind them the sad marks of their barbarity. Then they forced their way thro' the Pyrenees, which were defended by a small number of Roman troops, and soon after marched into Spain where they acted the like cruelties.

(w) Zosim. 5.
in Chron.

(x) Oros. l. 7. c. 3. Hier. Ep. 10. Rutil. Itin. lib. 2. Prosper

(y) Oros. Hier. Ep. 2.

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Stilico, on the other hand, (z) as if he had been in concert with the Barbarians, was bringing a famine into the whole country, having appointed officers in all the sea-ports to prevent the importation of corn from Egypt, and from the East. So that they began already at Rome to suffer very much, whilst he was at Ravenna, making his preparations at leisure for the war which he had intended against Arcadius, in order to bring his designs to bear. But he was obliged to set this affair aside for some time, being immediately sent for to Rome by Honorius, upon the account of fresh disorders which were occasioned by the tyranny of Constantine. This man had been a common soldier in the English army, who in about four or five months time had created, and put to death, two new Emperors, Marcus, and Gratian; (a) and they took it into their heads, out of a meer whim, to proclaim him by the title of Augustus, tho' he had nothing to recommend him, but the name of Constantine, which they looked upon as a happy omen, being of opinion, that coming out of England, as Constantine the great had formerly done, he might deliver the Empire from that inundation of Barbarians, to whom they thought the Romans were going to yield themselves up. This man was fortunate in the beginning; for, having marched into Gaul, the Roman forces acknowledged him; and having joined his troops, which were exceeding good, and commanded by old officers, he defeated the Barbarians in a battle, and would have entirely destroyed them, had he not, by his neglect, given them time to rally their men, and render themselves more powerful than ever, by the arrival of fresh recruits which were come to join them.

Hereupon Stilico, seeing himself under the necessity of opposing this new enemy, who was overthrowing all his schemes, ordered part of his army to march against him, under the command of Sarus, who happened not to be very successful; at the same time, as if all things were conspiring the desolation of the Empire, Alaricus, who was then believed to be in Epirus, having seized on the passage of the Alps of Trent, appeared suddenly with an army in Italy, (b) and sent Ambassadors to demand territories, and

(z) Leg. 1. de Litt. & Itin. Custod. Cod. Theod. cap. 11.

(b) Zof.

(a) Zosim. 6. Sozom. lib. 9.

money,

A. D. money, to pay his men who had waited so long and to so little purpose in expectation of a war in the East. The senate was highly offended at the insolence and contempt which this prince shewed to the imperial majesty, and would have sent troops immediately to fight him; but Stilico, who had premeditated a secret design of being revenged of this affront, said, that since the expedition on Sclavonia had been set aside by the express orders of the Emperor, it would be more prudent to supply him with money, than give him so fair a pretence of making war. (c) Whereupon it was resolved that four thousand pounds of gold should be paid him in order to have peace: At which Lampadius, who was one of the chief members of the senate, not approving this resolution, cry'd out aloud with a generous spirit, that this was not a peace, but a slavery to which they bound themselves. And the company being broke up, he immediately retired to the Church, which was nearest to the palace, for a sanctuary: (d) For the power, or more properly the tyranny, of Stilico was so great in those days, that people were not at liberty even to complain of their sufferings, without running the hazard of being punished. (e) And in order to satisfy Alaricus, concerning the territories which he required, they resolved to give him Gaul, and Spain, which Honorius could not keep any longer, because that Constantine, and the Barbarians had made themselves masters of those countries.

These affairs being settled, and the money paid, Alaricus set out in order to go and take possession, in execution of the treaty: But Saulus, a Pagan general, who was in the secret with Stilico, followed him by his orders, and fell upon him on Easter day at the passage of the Cottian Alps, (f) thinking that he could easily defeat him, in those streights where he had posted troops in ambuscade, and where the Goths, who did not expect this piece of treachery, could have no opportunity of drawing up their forces. (g) But Alaricus, altho' an Arian, was unwilling to give battle on so solemn a day; yet being forced to it, he disposed his men in so judicious a manner amongst the rocks, and fought with so much valour and courage, (h) that he gained a compleat victory over Sau-

(c) In the French four hundred and fifty thousand crowns according to Bud.
 (d) Hier. Ep. 2. (e) Jornand. de reb. Get. c. 30. (f) Near the passage of
Sura. (g) Oros. lib. cap. 37. (h) Paul. Diac. in Misc. lib. 13.

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lus, and made him fall into the very snares which his enemy had designed for him. Alaricus, being now victorious, was provoked at the base treachery, which the Romans had intended against him, and as the glorious success of his arms had swelled his pride, he resolved at once to return with his army towards the Po; and as he approached the Roman legions, which were under the command of the Emperor Honorius, in the neighbourhood of Pavia, the major part of their auxiliary troops, (i) which were composed of Barbarians, came over to him, in order to be revenged of the injuries which they had received after the death of Stilico.

A. D.
408.

For whilst these things were transacting in this manner towards the Alps, (k) Stilico having undertaken to march with the army to Constantinople, where Arcadius died on the first day of May, and being resolved to repair thither without Honorius, whom he intended to leave in Italy with a very small body of men, which gave the Emperor an opportunity of discovering the treasonable design, which Stilico had been so long a framing. And indeed Olympias, who commanded the Emperor's guards, (l) and of whom St. Augustin made the elogium in two of his letters, laid open before Honorius the whole pernicious scheme of this perfidious man, (m) which exasperated the soldiers in so violent a manner that they fell upon their officers and killed them on the spot, with the magistrates whom they suspected to be concerned in the plot with Stilico. As for himself, he retired from Bologna to Ravenna, upon the advice, which he had received concerning these disorders; and as he was informed that the Emperor had given orders to the Roman soldiers to secure his person, he went in the night-time and took sanctuary in a Church, not confiding in his Huns, and Goths, because that Sarus, who commanded them, had forsaken him. The soldiers indeed would not attempt to take him out of the Church, by reason that the bishop was there present in order to oppose any such violence. But these men having assured Stilico, with an oath, that their orders were not to put him to death, but only to guard him, he immediately surrendered himself up to them: And as soon as he was come out of the Church, He-

(i) Zos. l. 13.
ep. 124. & 129.

(k) Prosper. Marcell. Socr. lib. 6. cap. 21.
(m) Zosim. l. 5.

(l) August.

A. D. 408. raclian produced other letters of Honorius, whereby he declared him an enemy to the republick, and condemned him to loose his head: And hereupon this general, without any farther deliberation, cut off his head with his own hands, which happened on the twenty third day of August. Thus the most powerful minister that ever served the Roman Empire, whom Honorius, by his weakness, had raised above himself, perished miserably by the hands of those very men who not long before worshipped his fortune, and turned against him as soon as they found that his prince, tho' so weak a man, had forsaken him. These great and terrible examples, may teach all favourites, that, altho' their masters, thro' weakness should raise them to a pitch of greatness, not consistent with their own honour, or the good of their government, yet they ever will retain a jealous regard to the authority of their crown; and we may say that a minister thus raised to the highest degree of fortune, (when once forsaken by his king) is like unto a small mote of earth, which being suspended in the air, falls down with the greater noise and swiftnes, and is dashed into atoms, by the distance from which it falls.

And indeed the whole family of Stilico, as likewise most of his friends, were unfortunately involved in his ruin. His son Eucherius, who had made his escape, during these tumults, was apprehended by two of the Eunuchs of the palace, and put to death by them. His daughter Thermantia, whom Honorius had espoused some time before, was sent back to her mother Serena, who was then at Rome, and that unhappy princess was strangled in the year following by a decree of the senate, who were of opinion (tho' ill grounded) that by her death Alaricus would lose all manner of hopes of having the city delivered up to him. Bathanarius, who had espoused the sister of Serena in Africa was likewise put to death, and his employment was given to Heraclian, who had taken off the head of Stilico. Most of his principal creatures were tried for treason; and the estates of those to whom he had given places in the city of Rome, were forfeited; his effigies were pulled down; (n) and his name was erased out of all the publick inscriptions. The Goth, and Arian officers, and soldiers, whom he

(n) Lib. 42. de Hær. Cod. Theod.

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had placed in the palace, were all expelled: and, what was still more unjust and cruel, they massacred, in most of the cities, all the women and children of the Huns, Alani, Vandals, and Goths, that were in the Roman army; which was the cause that upwards of thirty thousand of those Barbarians went over to Alaricus in order to be revenged of the injuries they had suffered.

This prince nevertheless would not take advantage of this fresh supply of forces. He thought perhaps that he was fully revenged of the treachery, which had been acted against him, or had no farther hopes, after the death of Stilico, of receiving any intelligence from the West, so took other measures to establish himself in the East. It may be likewise possible, that he had a mind to be at peace after his toils; however he remained some time on the borders of the Po, from whence he sent Ambassadors to the Emperor Honorius, at Ravenna, with proposals of peace, which he offered on very moderate conditions. For he required but a small sum of money, and two persons of distinction for hostages, as a security that he should not again be deceived, offering at the same time to leave behind him the like security that he would depart from Italy, and retire with all his forces into Pannonia. But Honorius, having rejected his proposals, (which was no very politic proceeding, at a time when he was not in a condition to support a war against so potent an enemy) Alaricus laughed at his vain refusal, and immediately resolved to march towards Rome, being very sensible that, in the present state of affairs, (provided he was expeditious) no body would venture to oppose his passage. Therefore, having sent to Ataulphus, a prince whose sister he had espoused, with express orders to join him as soon as possible with a body of Huns, and Goths, which was under his command in Pannonia, he passed the Po, and without losing time in taking of towns, left Ravenna on his left hand, and marched through Romania; then entered the Marca Ancona, and having passed the Apenine, and Umbria, he came directly and laid siege to Rome.

It is true, that Rome in those days was a very considerable city, tho' nothing comparable to the flourishing state it was in before the division of the Empire, and till Constantine had removed the imperial seat into the East. (o) For Pliny tells us, that in his

(o) Emendat. apud Lips de Mag. Rom.

A. D. time, it was upwards of twenty two thousand pace in circumference, which make about ten French leagues, besides another city that was almost as large, and surrounded the first, which the Emperor Aurelian caused to be walled in. (p) So that Rome was then about twenty leagues round without taking in the suburbs, which on one side extended towards the sea, and on the other side were carried on so far towards Aricia, (q) Tusculum, Tyburia, and Otricoli, that a man could scarcely see the end of them for their extraordinary length. And certainly there was a necessity for such an immensity of buildings in a city, which at that time was the mistress of the world, and was inhabited by people of all the provinces of the Empire; besides the constant inhabitants, who in all (according to the computation of a learned man, (r) taken from the writers of those days) amounted at least, to four million of souls. Tho' indeed, there happened great alterations in that city, after that the great Constantine had built Constantinople, which had the appearance of a new Rome, when once he had brought thither the fortune and majesty of that ancient metropolis, and had established his court there. For, besides the illustrious families who followed him thither, and the great men of the Empire, who received their grandeur from the pretence only of their Prince; the infinite number of strangers, who attended the court at Rome, either in order to pursue their affairs, or in hopes of making their fortune, retired from thence; and as nobody repaired thither from the distant Provinces, excepting those who had a mind to satisfy their curiosity in their faults, and as all those, who had real business, or interest to pursue, went all in crowds to Constantinople, it is plain that Rome daily lost ground whilst its rival increased in glory. Thus when the sea ebbs, it retires gently from the shoar which it had surrounded, till at last there is nothing to be seen but sand and pebbles, in the very place where ships were sailing not long before. Even those Emperors, who had Italy for their portion, took no care to make the condition of Rome better; for by reason of the frequent irruptions of the Barbarians into the Provinces of the Empire, they used commonly to reside in Gaul, or at Milan, in order to be the more

(p) Vopise in Aurel.
de Magn. Rom. c. 3.

(q) Aristid. Rhed. Dion. 1. 4.

(r) Lips.

ready to repulse them. So that the ancient enclosure being sufficient enough to contain all that remained there, the other was neglected in such a manner, that in the time of Honorius there was scarcely any thing to be seen, but a few old ruins; as now in our days we only find, here, and there, a few wretched remains of ancient Rome, which have neither beauty, form, nor connexion; and only serve to give occasion to the curious to seek that city in the midst of itself, which its mighty title of *everlasting* could not prevent from perishing more than once, and from being now at this time buried under its own ruins, which are become spacious fields. But such is the fate of all things in this world, that, wasting by degrees they generally return to the primitive state which they were in before they began to grow up, in order to come to their perfection. Therefore, in those days Rome was comprehended in the very circumference of those walls which Plini measured in the time of Trajan; for when the Goths laid siege to it, under the command of Alaricus, Ammon, a famous geometrician, who took the dimensions of it, (s) found that its circumference amounted to twenty one miles, which comes to about the same matter.

Nevertheless, there were still at this time two parties in the city of Rome; the one, of Christians, which, without comparison, was the greatest and most powerful; and the other, of Pagans, who had begun for sometime to regain interest through the weakness of Honorius, and the power of Stilico, who by that means favoured his son Eucherius, their protector. (t) And, indeed, notwithstanding the edicts of the great Theodosius, and even those of Honorius, whereby all exercise of the abominable superstition of the Pagans was abolished, yet this weak prince, (u) immediately after the battle of Pollencia, which Stilico had gained, permitted the Pagans to celebrate the secular games in Rome, which the great Constantine would not suffer them to perform in the foregoing age, and which, they said openly, was the cause of the desolation of the Empire by the Barbarians. He even permitted them, according to the cruel custom of their ancestors, which had been abolished by the princes, his predecessors, to re-establish the bloody fights.

(s) Olympiad. Excerpt. apt. Phot. (t) L. 49. de Pag. Cod. Theod. (u) Claud. de 6. Conf. Hon. Zosim. l. 2.

A. D. 409. of the gladiators in the amphitheatre, and admitted the Vestals, who were yet in those days respected in Rome, to be present at these fights in the same ceremonious manner which used to be observed in former days, when Paganism flourished. (w) In short, he shamefully pretended not to take any knowledge of what appeared most scandalous in the eyes of all the world, and suffered them to erect those altars which had been pulled down, and to set up their golden and silver idols, (x) in the room of those which were destroyed by vertue of the edicts of the great Theodosius. As for the Christians, whose number far exceeded that of the Pagans in Rome, their morals in general were extreamly corrupt, tho' their pastor was a man, whose life was as pure, as his doctrine. (y) This was St. Innocent, bishop of Rome, whose authority was acknowledged and received particularly in that city, with respect only to the spiritual government: For altho' the bishops of Rome, even in the fourth century, (z) had very large revenues allowed them through the bounty of the Christians, and they lived in as splendid a manner as was proportionable to their dignity, which was done in order that they might be respected even by the Gentiles, (a) nevertheless their power and jurisdiction did not in those days extend beyond that ever blessed kingdom which is not of this world.

This is the state Rome was in, when Alaricus laid siege to it. And as he was so expeditious in his march, that he surprised the Romans and appeared at their gates, before that they could have a suspicion of any one's coming to besiege them, they had made no manner of provision. On the other hand, the city was so large and so crowded with inhabitants, that had they taken all the care imaginable to provide for it, there was no possibility of its holding out long; if once all communication for provisions was cut off. Therefore Alaricus, instead of making use of the strength of his men, only seized on all the avenues and roads which led to the city, but particularly the Tyber, (b) whereof he made himself master, by placing troops on both its borders, by which means he prevented any thing either from coming

(w) Prud. l. 2. adv. Symm.
l. 3. c. 5.
Zozom. l. 9. c. 6.

(z) Ammian. l. 27.

(x) Zosim. l. 5.

(a) Hieron. Epist. 61.

(y) Oros. l. 7. Niceph.

(b) Zos. l. 5.

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up, or going down. The Romans, nevertheless, were resolved to make a vigorous defence, and to undergo the utmost extremities, in hopes that the Emperor, who was at Ravenna, would not fail to come immediately to the relief of Rome. So they began to distribute the substance by measure; and daily diminished the portions, according as the provisions grew short and their necessity increased; they were even reduced to such an extremity that they were forced to live upon food that nature abhors, and which nothing but the force of a desperate hunger could induce men to make use of, (c) in order to preserve life by the same things which destroy it. But at last, when all the provisions were consumed; and the plague, which is the natural consequence of a famine, had begun to make a most dreadful havock in the city, and the Pagan senators had unsuccessfully made their detestable sacrifices in the capitol, and in the publick places, upon the assurances, which the Tuscan soothsayer had given them, that by these means they would cause the fire of heaven to fall down on the army of the Barbarians; they were obliged to send a deputation to Alaricus, in order to treat with him, on any tolerable conditions. And indeed those, which were granted to them, were much milder than what they could well expect, in the strange situation they were in. For Alaricus, who had undertaken the siege of Rome for no other reason, but because he was provoked at their refusing to grant him peace upon the terms which he proposed to them, requiring nothing but lands, and mony, thought now that he had a favourable opportunity of making peace, to a much greater advantage. He therefore promised the Romans to raise the siege, provided they would send deputies to the Emperor in order to persuade him to enter into an alliance with him, and grant him his demands, which were, that he should immediately give him five thousand pounds weight in gold, thirty thousand in silver, four thousand filken garments, with three thousand skins died in scarlet, and four thousand pounds weight of pepper. (d) The Romans were forced to comply with these extravagant conditions; and, as the private families could not sufficiently contribute towards the raising of these excessive sums, the magistrates, (without touching any thing that belonged

(c) Zosim. *ibid.* Zozom. *ibid.* Zof. l. 5.

(d) Zof. l. 5.

A D. to the Churches) seized on all the idols in the temples, and even
 409. melted down those which were made of gold or silver. And thus
 the very treasures, which the impious Pagans (to the shame of
 christianity) had restored in Rome, through the blind toleration of
 a catholick Emperor, served to pay the Arians, as the execution-
 ers of the justice of GOD, who made use of them to punish equal-
 ly the degenerate Christians, and obstinate Pagans. So Alaricus,
 being satisfied, retired into Tuscany, whilst the Romans, accord-
 ing to the treaty, sent a deputation to the Emperor, who at the
 same time was losing in other parts some of the chief provinces
 of the Empire.

For, whilst these things were transacting in Italy, Constantine
 the tyrant, who had reduced the Gauls to subjection, sent his son
 Constantius to take possession of Spain; he had already given him
 the title of Cesar, and placed him at the head of a powerful army,
 composed for the most part, of Alani, Vandals, and Sueves, whom
 the tyrant kept in pay; and with these forces he gave battle and
 defeated Verinian, and Didymus, both relations to Honorius, and
 took them prisoners. (e) This victory proved the ruin of the Em-
 pire, and of the religion in Spain. For Constantius being return-
 ed into Gaul with his prisoners, the Barbarians, to whom he had
 given up, as a reward, the provinces which lay on this side of the
 Eber, seized on the passages of the Pyrenees, by which means they
 let in the rest of their country-men, who were in the Narbonian
 Gaul. And seeing themselves in a condition to undertake any
 thing, with their prodigious number of forces, so much superior to
 the few Roman troops that were there, incapable of resisting them
 in the field; as also knowing that the Spaniards, who had been
 used during so long a time to labour under the yoke, would make
 no great difficulty to change their masters, they found it an easy
 matter to take possession of all the finest provinces that lay on the
 other side of the Eber. For, after having committed innumerable
 cruelties with fire and sword, where-ever they passed; as the fa-
 mine, and plague were just going to compleat the desolation of all
 Spain, the Romans, who were yet endeavouring to defend some
 of the strongest places, were at last forced to make peace, and give

(e) Idat. Oros. l. 7. c. 40. Prosper in Chron. Casiod. in Chron. Jo. Maria. l. 5.

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up to the Barbarians what they could not possibly preserve; which the conquerors divided into three kingdoms. A part of the Vandals, and Sueves, under their king Hermenericus, had Galicia for their share, which in those days comprehended what we now call old Castile. The Alani, who had Aracius for their king, took possession of Lusitania, and the province of Carthage; and the Silingi, together with the other Vandalick nations, whereof they made a part, settled themselves, under the conduct of their king, Gondericus, in that part of Spain which has since taken its name from them, and was called Vandalousia, but at this time Andalousia.

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After having thus miserably dismembred the Empire, Constantine had the assurance to send Ambassadors to the Emperour Honorius to excuse himself for what he had done, (f) saying, that he had been compelled to it by the army, who had proclaimed him under the title of Augustus; and this poor Emperour shewed so much weakness, as not only to receive his excuses, but likewise to send him the purple robe, tho' he did not even require it; And this he did, in order to save the lives of his two relations, whom Constantine put to death when he sent him this embassy. For he was no wise in a condition to declare war with him, till such time as Alaricus, with whom the Romans were then treating, was retired out of Italy; and nevertheless he managed this affair so ill, that he drew on himself still more and more the enmity of this Barbarian prince, who only required peace. (g) For, after having sent back the deputies from Rome, without coming to any conclusion, Innocent, bishop of Rome, went himself to Ravenna, in order to intreat Honorius to deliver Rome from so great a danger, and from so powerful an enemy, by a treaty; which, being absolutely necessary, would every way be advantageous, upon any conditions whatever. The Emperour, who had a regard to the remonstrances of his holy prelate, sent Jovius, prefect of the prætorium, (h) to Rimini, where Alaricus appeared personally in order to facilitate the treaty. The articles, which he first proposed, were, that a certain sum of money should be paid to him yearly in the nature of

(f) Zos. l. 4. (g) Zos. l. 4. Zozom. l. 9. c. 7. (h) The Friouli. The
Marca Taryisana, Austria and part of Bavaria,

A. D. a pension, and that his army should be supplied with provisions ;
 409. that the Emperour should give him up the countrey of the Venetians, with those of the Norici, and Dalmatia, for him and his people to reside in : And Jovius added to this, as a secret article, in his private letters to the Emperour, that Alaricus should be made Generalissimo of the forces of the Empire ; upon which condition he promised not only to serve the Emperour faithfully, but likewise to give up somewhat of the other articles which might seem too hard.

Honorius, instead of disguising his thoughts in order to obtain a peace, which at that time could not be purchased at too dear a rate, answered Jovius in a haughty manner, who advised him to accept of all the articles. That as to the provisions, money, and other things, he might freely grant them : But that he thought his assurance very great, when he required the command of his forces ; for that he would never suffer that either Alaricus, or any other person of his nation, should be raised to that employment. Jovius was so indiscreet as to read this letter aloud in the presence of Alaricus, before he knew what particulars it contained. Therefore this prince flying into a passion to see the contempt, which the Emperour expressed both for his person, and nation, immediately broke the treaty, and returned to his camp, from whence he marched directly to Rome with his army, which was then reinforced by a body of men that his brother-in-law had brought with him from Pannonia, (i) besides forty thousand Barbarian slaves, who, having made their escape out of Rome, were come over to him. Nevertheless, as he was on his march he relented, and sent some of the bishops of the towns, where he passed, to the Emperour, in order to advise him to save Rome, and to preserve it from its utter desolation, by a treaty which he proposed to him, the conditions whereof should be extremely reasonable. For, he was willing to give up all the other articles, provided that he would only grant him the country of the Norici, (k) which was daily exposed to the incursions of the Barbarians, and that, for the subsistence of his troops, Honorius should appoint what he thought most necessary ; that, upon these conditions he was ready to serve the Empire, and make

(i) Zosim. l. 5.

(k) High Austria and part of Bavaria.

war against all the enemies of the Emperour. Nothing could be proposed more for the advantage and interest of Honorius, who at that time was beset on all sides; (*l*) but because Jovius, who pretended to be very zealous, had a mind to repair the fault which he had just committed, he had obliged all those of the council, and even the Emperour himself, to swear that henceforward they would not enter into any treaty with Alaricus; and therefore his proposals, tho' very reasonable, were intirely rejected, which obliged this prince to take the resolution of returning to Rome, where he laid siege a second time.

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It is highly probable that about this time a holy man came to him in order to dissuade him from this enterprize; (*m*) when Alaricus, without deliberation, told him, that what he was doing was against his will, as it appeared plain enough by all the steps he had taken towards obtaining peace; but that he felt within himself an invisable power which incited him, and continually commanded him to take Rome, and destroy it. Nevertheless, he still harboured in his mind a desire to save it, by seeking satisfaction in another manner. (*n*) For, as soon as he had invested the city, he sent to the senate to let them know that, provided they would join with him against Honorius, to whom only he owed a grudge, and that if they would afterwards agree to do what he thought most convenient for the public good, he would treat them as his friends; but if not, that, as soon as he had taken the city, which he would certainly do in a very short time, he would destroy it, and level it with the ground. And as they seemed to deliberate on their resolution concerning this proposal, he immediately formed the siege; then, taking with him a body of the best troops of his army, he attacked Porto with so much vigour, that he took the place by main force, and seized on all the corn which was intended for the subsistence of Rome. Hereupon the senators, whereof the chief members were Pagans; as well as Attalus, whom the Emperour had very untimely made prefect of the city, seeing themselves on the one side without provisions, and even without hopes of receiving any, either by sea, or by land; and on the other hand, flattering themselves that they might make better conditions upon a revolu-

(*l*) Sozom. l. 9. c. 7. (*m*) Socr. l. 7. c. 10. Sozom. l. 9. c. 6. (*n*) Zof. l. 6.

A.D. 409. tion of state, resolved at last to treat with Alaricus, and acquiesce to the proposal he had made. (o) Tho' the number of Christians in Rome was far superiour to the rest, nevertheless there were still many concealed Arians, who agreed with the Pagans, and were in the interest of Alaricus; and as for the Catholicks, who were without a commander, and had no hopes of assistance, they could no wise resist so powerful a party within, and such a prodigious army of Arian Goths without. The deputation of Alaricus therefore was received at Rome; and in spite of all the opposition of the Anicians, who continued stedfast in the fidelity which they owed to God, and the Emperour, the senate granted whatever Alaricus demanded in two articles, which were, that they should proclaim whomsoever Emperour he should name, and that this new elected prince should join with him in order to make war against Honorius.

On this occasion it was that Attalus, thro' ambition, was guilty of the most perfidious and wicked action that ever was known: For as he was then the first man of the city, by his employment as prefect, he took it into his head that Alaricus would cause him to be created Emperour, if he could but once merit his favour, by giving him any extraordinary proof of his inviolable zeal for his fortune and interest. Hereupon, as he was treating in private with the deputies, in right of his office, he intreated them to assure the king, their master, that he was intirely at his devotion, and that he might depend on him as a man who would ever adhere to his interest; that in all things he would implicitly observe his commands, and willingly sacrifice every thing to his service. To this he added, that as religion was the thing in the world which most perfectly united men to each other, in order to convince him that he proposed to form an intimate alliance with the whole nation of Goths who payed their allegiance to him, he was resolved to renounce paganism which he had professed till then, and embrace the christian religion, not in the manner that it was practised at Rome, but as it was professed by the Goths, who followed the doctrine of Arius.

(o) Zozom. l 9. c. 9.

The deputies received these offers with joy, which were communicated to the Goths with great applause; and Alaricus particularly signified that they were most agreeable to him. For he thought it would be no small honour to him, as well as to his whole nation, not only to give an Emperour to the Romans, but likewise to give one to them, who should receive from him at the same time both the purple, and the religion of the Goths; which might afterwards be the means to establish Arianism upon the throne of the Cæsars, and even, as he hoped, on that of St. Peter. Therefore Alaricus, having agreed with the Romans, and being highly pleased with the behaviour of Attalus, made his entry at Rome, where he was received with all the magnificence imaginable; and after having declared his intentions to the senate, Attalus, prefect of the city, was solemnly proclaimed Emperour. (p) At the same time this new prince, according to the agreement, which he had made with Alaricus, his patron, declared him Generalissimo of the Roman forces, and Ataulphus general of the horse. (q) Tertullus, who was one of the most determinate Pagans in the senate, was created Consul; and Attalus, in order to fulfil his promise, caused himself to be baptized by Tigefarius, bishop of the Goths, and thus in a publick manner professed himself an Arian. The Pagans nevertheless did not conceive any jealousy from this proceeding; for, setting aside, that the Arians lived in a good correspondence with them, they knew that Attalus in his heart was still the same he had ever been, and that on all occasions, they might expect whatever favours, they would desire of him. And he promised them openly in full senate, to re-establish them in the flourishing state of their ancestors, and in a little time restore to Rome the Empire of the whole world. (r) This was the foolish notion, which he had conceived from the predictions of the augurs, and diviners, whom he used daily to consult after the Pagan manner. And they had so positively assured him, that he should soon be master of Africa, even without fighting, (s) that, contrary to the opinion of Alaricus, who had resolved immediately to send a body of choice troops thither, to defeat Heraclian, who might furnish

(p) Zos. l. 6.
1. 6. Sozom.

(q) Sozom. Zosim. Oros. l. 7. c. 42. Soz. l. 9. c. 9.
(s) Zosim.

(r) Zos.

A. D. 400. Rome, he only sent over, without forces, one of his generals, whose name was Constantine, (*t*) as if he had been sure to take possession of that country without the least opposition.

In the mean while Alaricus, with the new Emperour at the head of the whole army, marched directly to Ravenna in order to besiege Honorius, who, at this news, was so disheartned, (*u*) that he sent deputies as far as Rimini to meet Attalus, with an offer to acknowledge him for his colleague to the Empire, provided he would not advance nearer. But this man, being blinded with his good fortune, had lost the use of his reason, and therefore in an haughty and morose manner, he told the Ambassadors that all the favour, which he could grant their master, was, to let him live banished in some distant island; but first insisted that he should not only lay down the purple, and diadem; but likewise that he should be maimed in some part of his body, in order to prevent him from ever having any hopes of being restored to a throne, which he inevitably would soon be forced to abandon. Honorius, being terrified at so inhuman an answer, was already preparing to go on board a fleet of ships, which were waiting to carry him to his nephew at Constantinople, when he received a relief of four thousand men from him, who landed at Ravenna, in very good time to divert his fears, and help him to hold out the siege, till such time as he could receive letters from Heraclian, on whose assistance he very much depended. And indeed, this general, by his good management, was the only person that delivered him from the extremity which he was reduced to. For, as it was in his power easily to defeat Constantine, whom Attalus, by the persuasion of the false oracles, had indiscreetly sent, with hardly any forces, to invade Africa; he took so great a care to lay an imbargo on all the sea-ports, in order to prevent any provisions from being conveyed into Rome, that the famine soon began to rage more than it had done during the first siege. It is even reported, that all the neighbouring country being laid waste, and nothing imported by sea, the rich people of the city, and merchants (thro' an abominable avarice) concealed what corn they had in store, in order to sell it at an excessive rate in time of extremity, which caused the meaner people to ap-

(*t*) Sozom. l. 9. c. 8. (*u*) Zof. l. 6. Sozom.

ply one day publickly to the magistrates in the circum, crying out *A. D.*
aloud, that they might likewise expose human flesh to sale, and 410.
put a fixt price on it.

Alaricus was already highly dissatisfied with Attalus, who had occasioned these disorders, for not having followed his advice; and was yet much more exasperated against him, when he found that this ridiculous man had been at Rome in order to consult the senate, (x) and yet would not agree to send Gothick soldiers into Africa, as it was the opinion of the major part of the senators. Therefore seeing that he could never bring his affairs to bear by the means of this phantom Emperour, whom he himself had made, he resolved to degrade him, after having taken proper measures with some of the Romans of his party, whom Honorius had brought over to his interest, which would be a favourable opportunity of making an advantageous treaty of peace, as he had so often desired. Therefore as soon as Attalus was returned to Rimini, Alaricus, in order to conclude the comical scene which he had begun, brought this ridiculous prince, dressed in his imperial robes, at the head of his army, which was drawn up in order of battle near that city; (y) and therefore, having upbraided him with his weakness, vanity, and ingratitude, he caused his purple, and diadem to be taken from him, which he sent to the Emperour Honorius: But nevertheless kept this wretched man, near his person, out of meer compassion, till such time as he had put his life in safety, by the treaty which he proposed to make. So this ambitious and perfidious man, who, in order to be created Emperour, had declared himself an Arian, tho' a Pagan in his heart, after having ridiculously played the part of a prince, like a player on a theatre, became the jest of the whole world, for being a mere slave to those very Arian Goths, who in appearance had chosen him for their master. (z) The Pagans, and Arians of Rome were equally mortified, and deeply concerned at his disgrace, because on the one side, as Pagans, they were in hopes that he would restore idolatry to its primitive state; and on the other side, as Arians, that he would make Arianism flourish again in the Empire as it had formerly done under Constantius.

(x) Zos. lib. 6.

(y) Oros. l. 7. c. 42 Zos. Sozom.

(z) Sozom. l. 9. c. 9.

After

A. D. 410. After so unaccountable a change, Alaricus, who had already subdued the greatest part of the cities of Romania, (*a*) marched towards Ravenna in order to negotiate his treaty of peace with Honorius. Now indeed the treaty seemed to go on in earnest, with both parties; and according to all probability was likely soon to come to a conclusion, when God, who was resolved to deliver up Rome into the hands of the Barbarians, as a punishment for its crimes, permitted one only man, thro' his rashness, entirely to destroy this negotiation which would certainly have produced a peace. (*b*) Sarus, who commanded the Huns, that were in the service of the Emperour Honorius, had withdrawn from court upon some cause of discontent. (*c*) But when he found that the treaty was near being concluded, he resolved to return thither, in order, if possible, to break it; because that he not only bore an hatred to Alaricus, but was also for a war, which would be of greater advantage to him. For this reason, as he was well acquainted with the disposition of Alaricus, who never could submit to put up an affront, he suddenly fell upon his camp, with only three hundred desperate men, who followed him where-ever he went; and as the Goths were not upon their guard, having no suspicion that during a treaty any one would attack them in this manner, he put them in great disorder, and in a very little time killed a great number of men, till at last they drew themselves up in order of battle towards the place where the alarm was first given; but Sarus, having compleated his design retired with very little loss. Hereupon Alaricus, calling to mind the piece of treachery, which was acted against him at the passage of the Alps, did not doubt in the least, but that he was now betrayed in the same manner, and that they were only amusing him with the notion of a treaty of peace, whilst there was a scheme laid to surprise him; and therefore, being highly provoked, he raised his camp and marched immediately with his army towards Rome, promising the plunder of that city to his soldiers, in order to encourage them. (*d*) For as he had settled several correspondences, during his residence there, and disposed of all things in an absolute manner, he was fully satisfied that he should soon enter Rome by that means.

(*a*) Zosim, l. 6. (*b*) Zosim, l. 6. (*c*) Sozom, l. 9. c. 9. (*d*) Zozom, l. 9. c. 9.

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And indeed, he was not deceived in an expectation, which was so well grounded. Three days after he had taken possession of his old camp, which was the third time that he had encamped there, in order to besiege Rome, (which was now in a strange consternation at so unexpected a turn) (e) those who were of intelligence with him, (amongst whom were several Goths, who by reason of the alliances, which they had made with the Romans, had remained in the city), seized on one of the gates, which they delivered up to Alaricus, who marched into Rome with his whole army drawn up in order of battle. (f) This happened on the twenty fourth of August in the night. As he was assured of success from his correspondents, he, that very evening, appointed the chief officers of his army to meet at his quarters, and there he gave them the proper orders which were to be executed on so important an occasion. It is said that he expressed himself in the following manner: "My fellow-soldiers, about thirty five years ago, we passed the Danube, and since that time we have made war both for, and against the Romans, in order to acquire honour, and riches, which are the just rewards of our toils, and of the great actions, which we have performed. As for honour, I may venture to say, we could not wish for more than what we have gained in so many glorious warlike exploits, which have rendered the name of the Visigoths renowned throughout the world, and dreadful to the Romans. We were the men, who first convinced the world, that these haughty tyrants could be conquered and brought into the same bonds, with which they for so many ages had loaded Europe, Africa, and Asia. We have cut their armies to pieces, forced their cities, and plundered their country in their sight; we laid waste their provinces, and carried even terror up to the very gates of Constantinople; and as Hannibal performed great things at Cannee, so did we at that memorable fight at Andrinople, where their Emperour, being forced to submit to the invincible power of our arms, lost with his life all the forces of the Empire. Thracia, Mysia, Macedonia, Thessalia, Greece, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and all Italy, up to the very gates of Rome, where we are now encamped, are filled with the trophies and glory of our arms, from which these pre-

(e) Rutit. Itin. 1. 2.

(f) Miscell. Prosper. Cassiodor. Hieron. Epist. 16.

A. D. 410. " tended conquerours, and masters of the world, could not defend
 " themselves, but by surprizing us, and applying to the most
 " shameful perfidiousness, which shall prove fatal to them. After
 " so many battles, we have scarcely any thing left, but the arms
 " with which we conquered; and our victories, which were fruit-
 " less, have only produced us glory, and wounds. But it is
 " now high time to put an end to the injustice of our fortune;
 " and that, after the acquisition of glory, which is the noblest re-
 " ward of vertue, these brave men, who have followed me, should
 " partake of the spoils, which are due to those who have merited
 " the honour that they have acquired. I have despised Ravenna
 " which is not a prize worthy of your deserts. I am resolved that
 " Rome shall this day become your reward, and booty. Yes, I say,
 " Rome, who has hoarded up riches, at the expence of the whole
 " world, and may now justly be called the treasure of the universe,
 " shall supply you with money and subsistence, at a general review
 " of my army before the capitol. I shall be there in a few hours,
 " by means of the intelligence which I have in the city: And as
 " things are disposed, my design must succeed. I give up Rome
 " with its plunder, to my soldiers; and I am resolved that they
 " shall come out of it loaded with the treasures of those plunderers
 " who purchased them with the ruin of the rest of the world. But
 " remember this; I will not suffer, on any account, that, (whilst we
 " are performing this act of justice) it should be dishonoured with
 " impiety, which would justly bring upon us the vengeance of
 " heaven. For as I find within my self that God has command-
 " ed me to execute the judgment, which he has pronounced against
 " this city, it is also his will that I should revere him in the exe-
 " cution of it, and distinguish what belongs to him, from what be-
 " longs to those guilty men, whom he has condemned. I there-
 " fore forbid my soldiers to meddle with the Churches, or with
 " any thing that is consecrated to divine worship. (g) Besides, I
 " require that all holy places, and particularly the Basilea's of St.
 " Peter, and St. Paul, should be regarded as inviolable sanctuaries
 " to all those who shall retire thither; and that my soldiers shall
 " not make any attempt, either on their lives, their liberties, or

(g) Oros. l. 7. cap. 39.

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“ any thing that they shall have in their possession. Now, in or- *A. D.*
 “ der to undeceive those who take us for Barbarians, and Idolaters, 410.
 “ I desire that our right of war may be used with a great deal of
 “ moderation, and that my soldiers, in the height of plunder, may
 “ avoid shedding human blood. Rome shall see that we bear re-
 “ spect to the name of a Christian, even in time of war, and that
 “ we know how to make a difference between Pagans, and Christi-
 “ ans, tho’ there are others who have not the true notion, which
 “ they ought to have, of GOD, and of his son. Depart, therefore,
 “ immediately, and repair to your respective quarters, in order to
 “ communicate my commands to your soldiers; draw them up in
 “ order of battle, and at the second watch, this night, lead them
 “ hither without noise, that they may be ready to follow me at
 “ the hour, which I have appointed to enter the city.

Accordingly, as he had laid his scheme with his correspondents in Rome, the affair succeeded to his satisfaction, and having seized on the capitol, the palace, and the great places in the city, as soon as the day appeared, the army spread it self throughout all the parts of Rome, and began to plunder the houses. Nevertheless the charge, which Alaricus had given to his soldiers, was so punctually observed (notwithstanding the confusion which ever attends the plundering of a Town) that they did not touch the Churches, nor molest those who ran thither for refuge; that very few people were killed, and several of those, who fell into the hands of the Goths, were protected as soon as they invoked the name of JESUS CHRIST, or any saint, which shewed that they were Christians. (b) And GOD even softened the hearts of many of those Barbarians in such a manner, that they themselves conducted those people to the Churches, whom they had spared, as being Christians, fearing least they should fall into the hands of some of their fellow-soldiers, who might have no compassion, and use them with less humanity; which indeed gave occasion to several of the Pagans, (i) who perceived that the same respect was not paid them, to pretend that they were also Christians, and by that means, following their example in calling upon the same saints, they were spared and con-

(b) Oros. August. de Civit. l. 11. cap. 1. 7. Isid. l. de Mun. de Civit. c. 7.

(i) Aug. l. 11.

A. D. ducted by the very Goths to the Churches, where they found, that
 410. JESUS CHRIST (in spite of all their deceit) was in reality their Redeemer.

The illustrious Marcella, who was a lady of the noblest family in Rome, and reputed to be one of the most pious persons of the age, (*k*) was assaulted in her house, on mount Aventine, where she lived retired with her daughter Principia, passing their days together in the practice of piety, and holiness. At first these Barbarians used them ill, because they would have their gold, which they could not give them, having a long time before distributed all their possessions amongst the poor. But as soon as they were informed who these ladies were, with respect to their nobility, and piety, these very men treated them with the greatest veneration, and attended them safe to the Basilica of St. Paul. The heroick behaviour of another Christian lady, who was extremely beautiful, made likewise a most extraordinary impression on the heart of a young Arian Goth, who had conceived a passion for her. (*l*) After a thousand ardent solicitations, he found that she preferred her honour to her life; for, having drawn his sword, and threatned to kill her, in case she would not yield to his desires, she generously presented her neck to him in order to receive the blow, which moved his pity so much that he not only conveyed her safe to the Church of St. Peter, but likewise gave money to the officers of that Church for her subsistence during the time she might remain there.

But what was still more surprising in the midst of these disorders was, (as I may say) a kind of triumph which was given to St. Peter after a more pompous and magnificent manner than any that was ever seen even when Rome was in a most flourishing condition. One of the chief officers in the Gothick army, having entered the house of a lady, who was venerable both for her age, and her character, a virgin consecrated to GOD, he desired her in a civil manner to shew him where she had laid up her gold, and silver, since the laws of war had given him a right to share it with her. (*m*) (I am ready to obey your commands, Sir,) replied this prudent virgin, (thinking it impossible to conceal any longer the precious deposit which some days before had been committed to her

(*k*) Hieron. Epist. 154.

(*l*) Sozom. lib. 9. c. 10.

(*m*) Oros. l. 7. c. 39.

care.

care. "I will satisfy you immediately, Sir, (said she;) and I can assure you that you could not have applied yourself to any one who could have shewn you a greater quantity of riches." Hereupon she conducted him to a chamber, which was full of gold and silver vessels, whereof some were of a prodigious bigness, and the others enriched with precious stones: But all of them were wrought after an admirable manner. As she perceived that the Goth was astonished at the sight of such a prodigious treasure, without giving him time to recover from his surprise, she said to him: "These, Sir, are the sacred vessels of the Apostle St. Peter, which are used at divine service in his Church; they were brought here into this house a few days since, in hopes that it would be respected even by those of your nation. I dare believe that you will not venture to profane them, and run the hazard of committing so great a sacrilege. As for my part, I can no longer protect them, therefore will not pretend to keep them." This officer heard her discourse with admiration, and as she was inspired by the spirit of God, her words struck him with a religious fear, and he immediately sent to acquaint the king of what he had seen, who gave orders that all those sacred vessels should be brought back to the Basilica of St. Peter, which was to be performed in a most solemn manner, with the attendance of men in arms; giving also a strict charge, that they should convey thither this virgin, in whose house the holy treasure was found, together with all those who would accompany her on this extraordinary occasion.

There never was seen a procession comparable to this. (n) As soon as the report of this order was spread throughout Rome, the Barbarians and Romans, the Catholicks and Arians, the soldiers and the people, repaired from all parts to this house to bear a part in this ceremony. All the vessels were distributed to persons of quality, who bore them on their heads, in order that they might be seen and revered by every one. The clergy, dressed in their officiating habits, attended the procession, singing Hymns in praise of JESUS CHRIST, and St. Peter his Apostle. The Goths and Romans, who followed in crowds, answered all together, and, notwithstanding the difference of their opinions, with one heart, and

(n) Oros. *ibid.* Cassiod. *Var. lib.* 10. *Epist.* 20.

A. D. one voice, joined in the same hymns of praise to God. The Gothicish soldiers marched on both sides, forming two lines, with their swords drawn, which was done both in honour to, and for the safety of this pompous ceremony; and the trumpets, which marched before them, sounding from time to time, invited those who were as yet concealed, to come boldly out of their retirements, and join themselves with the rest of the people. Even the Pagans were glad to embrace so favourable an opportunity of putting themselves into a place of safety, and therefore joined the crowd, and were willing to pass for Christians. And the more the multitude increased at this wonderful procession, the more the Barbarians endeavoured to protect them. So great is the power of religion over those very men, who are most cruel in their nature, whenever any sensible and extraordinary object has made so strong an impression on them as to render them capable of receiving a notion of it.

But as these happy moments were soon at an end, and that all the Goths were not so well disposed, there were most dreadful disorders committed during the plundering of Rome; and in spite of the strict commands of Alaricus, which could not be so exactly observed at a time of such horrid confusion, (o) there were several houses fired, many people killed, virgins, and married women, forced and deflowered, and these Barbarians made a great number of prisoners, whom they took along with them into a miserable captivity. Several, even of those who were of the first quality (in order to save themselves from the cruelty of the Goths) retired out of Italy; some passed over into the islands, and others went into Palestine, where St. Jerom (deploring their misery, which he was witness of) says they were reduced to so great a necessity, (p) thro' the unmerciful avarice of those, who (notwithstanding the extremity they were in) still extorted money from them, that they had not even where-withal to cover their bodies, or shelter themselves from the injuries of the weather. Some of them, and amongst others the illustrious matron Proba, with her daughter, and granddaughter Demetrias, retired into Africa, in hopes of finding safety there under the protection of Heraclian. But on the contrary they

(o) Oros. lib. 7. cap. 29. August. de Civit. l. 11. cap. 1. 7. Id. tract. de excid. Urb. Rutil. Itin. l. 1.

(p) Hier. Præf. in lib. 3. in Ezech.

found this governour to be a tyrant, yet more avaricious and cruel than those, whose hands they had escaped, in order to fly to him for refuge: (q) For, after having already plundered Africa by his extortions, he treated them in the most insulting and treacherous manner that he could contrive, in order to get from them the little money which they had saved out of the ruins of their fortune.

But what plainly shewed that GOD, (r) in permitting that Rome should be thus surpris'd and plundered, intended only to inflict a paternal punishment on the Christians, and not to destroy them utterly, was that, Alaricus, five days after having taken the city, and being satisfied with the plunder which lasted three days, marched out with his whole army, and did not leave so much as a garrison behind him. For, whether he still continued in the resolution that he had formerly taken to settle in those provinces, which he already had so often demanded of the Emperour, or that he proposed to make himself master of Sicily and Africa; without the possession of which (were he to continue in Rome) he might be in danger of being famished; whether, I say, for these reasons, or because (as it often happens to the greatest of men, who have performed mighty exploits) he knew not well how to reap the advantage of them, and gather the fruits of his victories, I shall not determine. But after having given that short space of time to his soldiers in order that they might load themselves with the riches of that famous city, he departed thence, and marched thro' Campania, (s) the Marca d'Ancona, and Lucania, laying waste all the country where-ever he passed, till he arrived at Cosenza, where, (t) being informed that part of his forces were lost at sea in their passage to Sicily, he died suddenly. (u) He was a prince, who had none of the barbarity of his nation, tho' brave and courageous, with a greatness of soul, and the humanity of a Roman. The army, who bore an extraordinary love to him, resolved to perform his funeral obsequies in a most magnificent manner, but attended with much of the Gothick barbarity, which that prince, during his life-time (good natured as he was) would not have suffered

A. D.
410.

(q) Hieron. Epist. 8.

country of Italy. Basilicate Calabria.

c. 43. Idat. Marcell. l. 12.

(r) Marcell. in Chron. Oros.

(t) Principality.

(s) A champaign

(u) Oros. lib. 7.

them

A. D. 410. them to do to any one. For, having turned the course of the river of Busento, they dug a large and deep grave in the middle of its channel, and having buried him there with part of the richest spoils, which they had brought with them from the plunder of Rome, they turned the river again into its natural course. And after this, in order that no body should ever discover the tomb of Alaricus, the soldiers barbarously put to death all the prisoners, whom they had employed in this work.

A. D. 411. After the death of this great man, the Goths, with a general consent, chose Ataulphus for their king. This prince was brother-in-law to Alaricus, and not inferiour to him in prudence and courage. So that he might have easily compleated the destruction of the Roman Empire, had he not conceived an extraordinary passion for the princess Galla Placidia, sister to Honorius, which intirely disarmed him: And proved at last the cause of his ruin, and the safety of the Emperour. The first time that Alaricus entered Rome, he was resolved to seize on the person of this princess; (x) whom, nevertheless, he treated after a royal manner in his camp. Ataulphus, who was a young prince, and had lately buried his wife, was passionately taken with her beauty, and wit, which far excelled the graces of her face. And as Alaricus had committed her to his care, and even given him leave to marry her, if he could prevail on her to give her consent, he used to serve her with the greatest respect, in hopes of finding a favourable opportunity to deserve that honour, which he so earnestly wished for. And now seeing himself on the throne of Alaricus, he began to indulge his hopes, and was of opinion that the sister of Honorius would not think herself degraded in ascending that throne with him, nor dishonoured in becoming the queen of the masters and conquerours of Rome. This princess on her side, seeing the deplorable condition which the Empire, and her brother, were reduced to, would not disdain the good offices of this prince, in hopes that, of an enemy, she might bring him to be a powerful protector of her family. She therefore approved his addresses; and from that time knew so well how to manage him, that at last she gained an absolute ascendant over him, and persuaded him under-hand to take a resolution, (y)

(x) Zosim. l. 6.

(y) Oros. lib. 7. c. 43.

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not only to make peace with Honorius, but also to assist him with all his forces, in order to restore the Empire to its former glory. Ataulphus, nevertheless, being willing to shew a fair pretence for carrying on his intended scheme, gave other reasons afterwards for his conduct, which every one was surpris'd at. (z) For he us'd often to tell his friends in private, that at first when he came to the throne he had resolv'd to make himself master of the Empire, which he would have call'd the Empire of the Goths, instead of that of the Romans, and substitute his name of Ataulphus in the room of that of Augustus: But that, having consider'd on the one part that so great an Empire could not subsist without laws, and on the other hand that the Goths, who were naturally a barbarous people, would neither have nor suffer any government, he had chosen rather to acquire the glorious title of restorer of the Roman Empire, than that of the destroyer of it. Tho' indeed, as the world has seen by experience that the Gothick nation was very capable of being brought under discipline, and government, it plainly appear'd that love had a far greater share, than any political notion, in the conduct and sudden change of Ataulphus.

Therefore this new king, laying aside the design of his predecessor, return'd back to Rome, where, notwithstanding the charge he had given at the request of Placidia, (a) he could not prevent his army from committing many disorders. (b) He afterwards march'd towards Ravenna, but stopp'd at Forli, a place in Romania, where he secretly agreed with Honorius, that (under the pretence of defending Gaul, and Spain) he would march with his army into the Narbonian Gaul, and into the provinces on the other side of the Pyrenees, as far as the Eber. After which, having married the princess Placidia, with the consent of the Emperour, her brother, (c) he went and took possession of the new kingdom of the Visigoths, whereof he establish'd the seat at Narbona.

This peace was followed by the restoration of the affairs of Honorius. Constantius, who was a great general, born in Illiria, and a creature of the great Theodosius, having pass'd the Alps with the Emperour's army, besieg'd Arles, where Constantine had re-

(z) Oros. *ibid.*
Iornand. Maria, l. 5. c. 1.

(a) Miscell.

(b) Forum Livii.

(c) Olympiod.

A D.
411.

A. D. tired for safety, and had taken upon him the orders of priesthood
 411. in one of the Churches of that place, in order, by that means, to escape death: (*d*) But the town being taken, that did not prevent Honorius from causing him to be put to death at Ravenna, with Julian, his second son. As for Constance, his eldest son, to whom he had conferred the title of Cæsar, he was killed at Vienna, by Gerontius whom he had left governour of the provinces of Spain; and who, having revolted against Constantine, on the account of some dissatisfaction, had caused his army to create one Maximus Emperour. (*e*) And Gerontius himself, being soon after forsaken by his soldiers, who surrendered themselves up to Constantius, fled into Spain where he perished by his own hands, after having killed his wife, who earnestly desired him to grant her that favour, which he was unwilling to do, till he saw himself upon the brink of being forced by his own people, who had besieged him in his house, and against whom he defended himself almost alone, and behaved with so much bravery, that, what with darts and arrows, he killed above three hundred of them.

As for Maximus, the sham Emperor, having laid down his purple robes, he went over to the Barbarians, on the other side of the Eber, (*f*) and nothing more was heard of him. (*g*) Heraclian, who, from being governor of Africa, was become a tyrant, and dared even to invade Italy with a prodigious number of ships, in order to attack Rome, was defeated by count Marinus, at his landing; and, with great difficulty made his escape to Carthage, where he was killed. (*h*) Jovinus and Sebastian, his brother, having revolted in Gaul, where they had the assurance to usurp. A tyrannical party were taken by Ataulphus, who caused them to be put to death at Narbona. As for the wretched Attalus, (whom the Goths made a tool of, and had re-inflated again on the throne, only to oppose Constantius, whom they began to suspect) he was immediately abandoned by them, and falling alive into the hands of Honorius, was treated in the same manner, with which he once intended to treat the Emperor: For, after having caused two of his fingers to be cut off, he sent him into banishment in the Isle of

(*d*) Sozom. l. 7. c. 13. Olymp. (*e*) Sozom. *ibid.* (*f*) Marcell. (*g*) Oros. l. 7. c. 42. Marcell. (*h*) Idat. Marcell. Prosp. in Chron. Olympiod. Oros. l. 7. c. 43.

Lipara. In short, the Goths themselves, who had committed most horrible disorders in Aquitain, and in the Narbonian Gaul, from the time of their inhabiting those Countries, (i) abandoned their new kingdom of Gaul; and, passing on the other side of the Pyrenees, went into Spain, which they were forced to do, either by the victorious arms of Constantius, or by a secret agreement, which Ataulphus had made with the Romans through the contrivance of Placidia.

Thus Italy, Africa, Gaul and Great Britain, were entirely restored to the obedience of Honorius, by the means of the peace which this Princess procured to the Empire; and tho' it was then of great advantage to her Brother, yet it proved in the End very fatal to her Husband, For as soon as he began to be suspected by his Nation, who found their account in the (k) War, which they made against the Romans under Alaricus, he was murdered in Barcelona, and they chose for their King Sigericus, Brother to the famous Sarus, whom the Soldiers (l) had massacred, as being Traitor to the Emperor. This new elected Prince, in the first place caused six Children, whom Ataulphus had had by his first Wife, to be put to death, (m) and treated his Queen Placidia in so base a manner that he obliged her to run a foot before his horse, (n) like a wretched slave. But he soon met with the punishment of this Brutality: For the Goths, seeing that he had no disposition towards making War (which they were all desirous of) they began to fear lest he should follow the steps of Ataulphus, and hereupon they deprived him of his life, seven days after his being raised to the Throne; and without shewing any Regard to his Children, they chose in his Room a person, whose Name was Vallia, whom they looked upon to be the greatest Warriour amongst all their Generals.

And he was justly esteemed a great Commander, having an equal share of courage, and prudence, by which means he knew so well how to temper the minds of his Goths, that he persuaded them, either to make war, or peace, just as he thought it proper. He, in the first place, embarked them on board a potent fleet, with a design to invade Africa, (o) according to the scheme of

(i) Maria l. 5. c. 2. Prosper Oros. l. 7. c. 47. Iorn Mari.

(k) Prosp. Marcell. Idat Iorn. Oros. l. 7. c. 43.

(l) Soz. l. 9. c. 13.

(m) Olympiod.

(n) Idat Oros.

(o) Oros. l. 7. c. 43.

- A. D.* Alaricus. But his ships having suffered very much in a terrible storm, he found himself under the necessity of returning to Barcelona; and hereupon he informed the chief officers of the Goths, that being on the one side surrounded by the Romans, and on the other by the Alani, the Suevi, and Vandals, they were in danger of losing what they had acquired; and by this means he persuaded them to enter into a treaty of peace with Constantius, on such terms as should be both advantageous and honourable, and would put them in a capacity to make war against those other nations.
415. (o) He therefore treated with the Roman general on these conditions; viz. That the princess Galla Placidia should be restored to the Emperour, who had already promised her to Constantius; (p) who being ambitious of the honour, it was a more speedy means to conclude the treaty. The second article was, that the Romans supplying Vallia with provisions, he should assist them against the other Barbarian nations, who had divided Spain amongst themselves. Upon these conditions he should be restored to whatever Ataulphus possessed in Gaul, and Spain; with assurances that he might yet expect something more from the Romans, according as it would appear by his behaviour, that he was faithful to them in fulfilling this treaty.
416. And hereupon it was faithfully executed by both parties. (q) Vallia delivered up the queen to Constantius, who immediately married her by the express command of Honorius; and in that first year was born the princess Honoria, and in the second, Valentinian the third. The Romans supplied Vallia's forces with corn,
417. and they were fortunate in the war which they made against the Barbarians, who were at that time divided amongst themselves. Vallia defeated the Alani in a battle which he fought near Merida, wherein their king Araces lost his life. He obliged the Suevi and Vandals, who were in possession of Galicia, to submit to the Roman Empire, and so often defeated the Silingi, and the Vandals of Andaloufia, that he compelled them to surrender themselves. After so many glorious exploits, Constantius sent for him back into Gaul, and there gave him a fresh confirmation of the alliance,
- 418.

(o) Olympiod. Oros.
Iorn.

(p) Olympiod. Oros.

(q) Olympiod Prosp.

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which he had made with him in the name of the Emperour, (r) and added to his kingdom all Aquitain which is situated between the Pyrenees, the Garonne, and the ocean sea. Thus the kingdom of the Arian Visigoths was firmly established in Gaul, and Catalonia, by Vallia, who transitted the seat of his new Empire to Toulouse, where he soon after died, leaving behind him Theodoredus, or Theodoricus his relation, for his successor.

A. D.
419.

Constantius did not live very long after him. He shared the same fate with him, and died in glory, after having happily performed great actions, without giving time for fortune to repent. For being returned in triumph to Ravenna, Honorius his brother-in-law, in order to reward his mighty services, had associated him to the Empire, which he had delivered out of the hands of Tyrants, and Barbarians; (s) and seven months afterwards he died, just as he was going to carry his arms into the East against Theodosius the younger, who would not approve of his election, nor receive him as his colleague.

After his death the affairs in the West were in a greater confusion than before. (t) Honorius and Placidia having, for some time, carried on an intimate correspondence, which was even prejudicial to their reputation, conceived so great a hatred for each other, that being no longer able to live together, Placidia was forced (by the command of her brother, who expelled her) to retire with her children to Constantinople where she implored the protection of Theodosius, her nephew. But this persecution did not continue long; for Honorius died a few months after in the thirty fifth year of his age. He was a slothful ignorant prince, and an enemy to business, minding nothing but his pleasures, even at a time when his Empire was at stake. He possessed none of his father's perfections; tho' indeed he was very zealous for the catholick religion, which he always protected against the attempts of the Hereticks. Placidia being acknowledged as empress by Theodosius, (u) returned immediately into Italy with her son Valentinian, who was then in the fifth year of his age, and was proclaimed by the name of Augustus in Rome, as also soon after at Ravenna, where John prin-

421.

423.

424.

(r) Idat. Maria. (s) Olympiod. Marcell. (t) Olymp. (u) Prosper.
Marcell. Olymp. Secr. lib. 7. cap. 23.

A. D. cipal secretary of state to Honorius, and prefect of the *Pretorium*,
 425. who had taken upon himself the title of Emperour after the death of his master, was surpris'd and put to death by Theodosius's people.

But during these civil and domestick broils, there happened a change in Spain, which proved very fatal to the religion, and which at last occasioned the establishment of a new monarchy of Arians in Africa, by the conquests of the Vandals. These people, who were esteemed the most warlike of all the Barbarians that inhabited Spain, and were subjected to the Romans by Vallia, having, after the death of Constantius, thrown off their yoke, (w) under the government of their king Gundericus, and adopted all the Alani that were left, who now became one nation with them, these Barbarians, I say, committed such devastations in Spain, that the Romans were obliged to send thither a considerable body of men under the command of Castinus. And Boniface who was a great general, that commanded the Roman army in Africa, was likewise
 422. ordered to repair thither with a part of his forces: But he could not bear the arrogant and imperious humour of Castinus, who would transact every thing after his own way, tho', at the same time, what he did, was directly contrary to the rules of war, and good sense. Therefore Boniface, fearing least he should lose both his troops, and his honour, thro' the mistakes of this stubborn man, he returned immediately into Africa; (x) and Castinus, having unadvisedly given battle to the Vandals near Taragona, was defeated and obliged to leave Spain, and retire into Italy. The death of Honorius happening at this juncture, the affairs of the
 423. Empire could not be set right till about two years after, when Placidia and her son Valentinian, being happily delivered from John, who had usurped the Empire, were both proclaimed by the title of
 425. Augustus at Ravenna. At which time, Castinus, who was suspected of having underhand favoured the tyrant's Party, was sent into banishment. But Aetius, on the contrary, being a great and able general, who had brought with him out of Myfia (which was his country) a powerful army of Huns for the service of the usurper, he found it easy to make his peace, because, in the first place,

(w) Prosp. in Chron.

(x) Idat.

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he had forces at his command; and his capacity was well known.

A. D.

425.

(y) He was even made a count, and an army of Romans was given to him upon condition that he would dismiss his Huns, which he accordingly did, after having paid them with the Emperour's money. Boniface, who had acquired much glory in Africa (where tho' only a colonel he had often defeated the Barbarians, who made excursions on the territories of the Empire) insinuated himself so well into the favour of Placidia, that, besides the command of the armies which he already had, she gave him also the government of all Africa, (z) with directions to pass, as soon as possible, into Spain in order to accommodate the affairs there with the Vandals, as they had already done with the Huns.

This was the same count Boniface, who, during his residence in Africa, had contracted that intimate friendship with St. Augustin, which rendered the count so remarkable, as we have many instances of it in the epistles of this holy man, whom he honoured as his father, and spiritual guide. And indeed Boniface had a true principle of piety, which he carefully cultivated for some time, under the direction of this admirable teacher. He received many instructions from him relating to his moral life, and for the better preserving the purity of faith, not only against the deceits of the Donatists, who had a powerful party in Africa, but likewise against the impiety of the Arians, who were at court, and in Boniface's army; and which gave occasion to St. Augustin to refute openly that heresy, which till then was not known in Africa. For as the count's army was composed of Romans, and Goths, who, at that time, were their allies, the latter, who professed Arianism, had the free exercise of their religion, notwithstanding the edicts of the Emperours, which did not include the strangers, who were in the service of the Empire. They even had a bishop of their own, whose name was Maximus; he was very zealous in maintaining that his was the true doctrine, and had assurance enough to challenge St. Augustin to dispute with him. Besides, this Arian bishop was supported by the authority and boldness, or more properly by the impudence, of the count Pascentius, one of the Emperour's principal officers, who was appointed collector of his rights,

(y) Prosp. in Chron.

(z) Procop. de Bell. Vand. l. 1. August. Epist. 70.

and

A. D. and revenues in Africa. This man, who was very ignorant, had
 425. a deal of assurance, together with an exceeding freedom of speech. And his power being great, from the employment which he exercised, he imposed on those, who had never heard of Arianism, which he proclaimed in all places. For, tho' he always anathematized Arius, and Eunomius, in order that he might not be accused of being an Arian, yet at the same time he maintained their opinions, which he did not understand; and all his learning consisted only in insulting the Catholics, defying them to shew him the word *ὁμοούσιος* in the scriptures, and upon this he fancied himself able enough to challenge St. Augustin to a publick conference.

This holy bishop agreed to the proposal, and conferred with Maximus at Hippon, and with Pascentius at Carthage, in presence of arbitrators, and witnesses. He confounded them both, but particularly Pascentius, who would not consent that any part of the conference should be set down in writing, fearing least he might be convicted by authentick proceedings. But, (as it is commonly the way of hereticks) after the dispute was over, these men impudently gave it out, that they had gained all the advantage that could be wished for on this occasion; particularly Maximus, who had spent all the time in saying things which were nothing to the purpose, and therefore no reply being made to him, he went away. (a) Hereupon St. Augustin, in vindication of the truth, found himself obliged to make their confusion publick, which he did, by setting down in writing the conference held at Carthage, which to this day may be seen in St. Augustin's epistles; (b) and as for the dispute with Maximus, we have it in the three books, which he wrote against that Arian bishop; wherein, after having faithfully quoted, in the first book, what had been argued on both sides in that conference, he shews him plainly in the two other books, that in speaking after such a manner, he only had taken a deal of fruitless pains to prove at length what was intirely out of the question; and that he had not replied precisely to those things, which were put to him; so that, far from having proved what he pretended to assert, he had given room to discover the weakness and

(a) August. contra Max. l. 3. 8, 16.

(b) August. Epist. 173. & seq.

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falsity of it, by replying distinctly to every one of his passages, and shewing him that there were some of them which positively expressed, what he did not intend, *viz.* That there is but one only true GOD; that the Son is truly GOD; and that the Holy Ghost is likewise so: From whence we must necessarily conclude, that the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost are but one only GOD, according to the true belief of the Catholics.

A. D.
425.

It was on this occasion that St. Augustin wrote several treatises against the Arians, who were beginning to encrease in Africa by the means of the Goths, that were in the army of Boniface, tho' this general continued still to be a zealous Catholick, through the wholesome admonitions which he received from that good bishop, his director. And his devotion was so very great, that, after the death of his wife, (c) he had a mind to renounce the world, in order to pass the remainder of his days in a monastery, had not the holy bishop and Alypius, to whom he communicated his design, diverted him from it, by representing to him, that he would be more serviceable to GOD in continuing to defend the Churches of Africa against the Barbarians, than by living in a solitary retirement.

But we must allow that, whatever good qualities, or whatever share of understanding a man may be master of, yet he is subject to great weakness, when once he submits to a passion that is violent enough to over-power his reason. This same Boniface, whose sentiments were so noble, and who had received such excellent instructions from so great a master, having shamefully suffered himself to be enslaved by two most dangerous passions, *viz.* love, and revenge, became at last the cause of his own misfortune, and the utter ruin of Africa, as also of the horrible persecution, which was carried on against the Church by the Arian Vandals. We must now unfold the beginning, and progress of so great an evil.

After the defeat of Castinus, the Vandals, having no more enemies in the field, that were able to oppose them, made considerable conquests both by sea, and by land. (d) They invaded the *Baleari* Islands without any great resistance, and there put all to fire and sword. (e) They took new Carthage, which they totally demo-

(c) August. Ep. 70. ad Bonif.
Isidor. in Hist. Vand. Marian. l. 5. c. 3.

(d) Majorca & Minorca

(e) Idat.

A. D. 425. lished; and after having made themselves masters of the whole coast as far as the Streights, they seized by main force on Sevil, where, as their king Gundericus was entering the Church of St. Vincent in order to plunder it, he fell down dead in the porch, which dreadful judgment shewed the Barbarians, that, if they sometimes proved the scourge of heaven to punish the sins of other men, yet they themselves were also in the hands of God, who could either make use of them for that purpose, or destroy them when he thought fit.

A. D. 426. Gundericus being dead, the Vandals made choice of Gisericus, his brother, whom they proclaimed king. This prince, besides his birth, which gave him a right to the throne, was likewise endowed with eminent qualifications, which rendered him worthy of it. (f) He had nothing indifferent in him but his stature, which was rendered still more deformed by a lameness occasioned by a fall from a horse. Every thing else in his character was extraordinary, both his good, and his bad qualities. For he was a great general, and a refined politician; acting with prudence, secrecy, and dissimulation. He performed great things, but said little; and was very artful in procuring to himself the friendship of others, as also in making his enemies fall out amongst themselves. He was vigilant, quick, laborious, and an enemy to voluptuousness; but, withall, he had those vices to excess which are generally ascribed to Tyrants. Whenever he was angry, his passion turned to fury. (g) He was covetous, surly, and cruel; and moreover an Arian, as were most of those of his nation, who had embraced Arianism, thro' the correspondence which, for a long time, they had held with the Goths. It is even reported that he had formerly been a Catholick, but that he turned Apostate, not only to become an Arian, but in order also to persecute the orthodox Christians; and we have some reason to believe that as he was a great politician, and full of ambition, he acted in this manner to render himself agreeable to the Vandals, who, being for the most part Arians, would not be willing to be governed by a Catholick king.

(f) Iornan. de reb. Get. c. 33.

(g) Maria. l. 5. c. 3. Isidor. in Hist. Vand.

Gisericus,

Gisericus, being such a man as I have described him, caused greater disorders in Spain than his predecessors had done; and as the affairs of the Empire were not at that time in so good a condition as to be able to force him out of the provinces which he had invaded, (b) Count Boniface, (according to the command he had received) made a journey into Spain, in order, if possible, to accommodate affairs in an amicable manner. But this journey was the beginning and cause of his destruction, which unfortunately brought along with it the ruin both of the religion, and of all Africa. For this unhappy count who, after the death of his first wife, had resolved to quit the world, in order to pass the remainder of his days in celibacy, was so passionately enamoured with the beauty of a Vandal princess, whom he saw at court, that nothing was able to deter him from marrying her. Gisericus, who was a discerning man, took care not to let slip so fine an opportunity of making an alliance with a person, by whose means he proposed one day to acquire great advantages. He even readily agreed that she should profess the catholick religion; for Boniface, being resolved at least to give no suspicion to his court, insisted on this condition; and Gisericus, perceiving that this was only a political request, knew very well that the princess, after all, would have it intirely in her power to behave according to her own pleasure. And certainly he was not mistaken in his opinion; for Boniface was so blinded with love, and had so much weakness, that he suffered his wife, who was a Catholick only in appearance, to fill his house with Arians; (i) and these people, thro' the weakness of Boniface, being supported by their mistress, assumed at last so great an authority over his family that they baptised his daughter; and we are even told that these Arians, having perverted several young virgins who were in the princess's service, and had consecrated their virginity to God, they rebaptised them after their own manner.

This being the state of affairs, the enemies of Boniface found it no difficult matter to disgrace him at the court of the Empress. Aetius, in particular, was resolved to ruin him either out of revenge to some private injury, which he might have received from him,

(b) August. Ep. 70.

(i) August. Ep. 70.

A. D. 426. or because that (Boniface being the only great man he was jealous of in the Empire) he could not bear to see him in a capacity of contending with him for a superiority. (k) But in order to carry on his design with the greater success, he concealed it under a false colour of friendship, till he found a fair opportunity of compleating it; and this he did in a most vile manner, which was unworthy of a man of his rank and spirit. For, pretending to be very Zealous for the service of the Empress, he gave her to understand that Boniface retained the titles of count and governour meerly to cover his designs: But that in reality he was tyrant of Africa, where he was resolved to reign independent of the Emperour; and that the true cause of his marrying the Vandal princess was, ambition, and not love; for by that means, he proposed to secure the Barbarians in his interest, who had promised to maintain him in that Empire, which he had already usurped. "Moreover, Madam, (said he, maliciously) I would not have you give credit to what I say, but desire that you would satisfy yourself of the truth of it, which you may readily do, if you please to take that trouble upon you. The only thing to be done, is, to call him back to court, and by that, you will find whether or no he acknowledges the authority of the Emperour; or whether, by refusing to come (as he undoubtedly will) he will not openly discover the scheme, which he has hitherto concealed."

Placidia, who was resolved not to omit any thing relating to an affair of this importance, approved of this expedient, and immediately put it in execution. But Aetus also, in order to carry on his treacherous design with art and safety, had already wrote to Boniface, acquainting him that the Empress, who was prepossessed with a suspicion of him, had determined to ruin him; and that he thought himself bound in friendship to let him know, that he would soon be called back; but that, if he valued his life, he advised him not to come, for that, at his arrival at court, he would immediately be put in arrest, and that the circumstances of the charge laid against him were so strong, that he would assuredly lose his life without any farther form of trial. The count, finding a good deal of probability in this advice, chiefly when he reflected on his marriage with a Vandal la-

(k) Miscell. l. 14. Procop. l. 1. de bell. Vandal. cap. 3.

dy, which alone was enough to render him suspicious at the Emperour's court, resolved to be on his guard, and not to expose himself to the danger of being made a sacrifice to calumny. Therefore, when the Emperour's envoys were come in order to summon him to return to court, he refused to obey. Hereupon Placidia, not doubting of the treachery of Boniface, or of the fidelity of Aetius, placed her whole confidence in the latter, and, by his advice, sent an army against Boniface, (l) under the command of three generals, viz. Mavortius, Galbio, and Sinox. But as there arose differences between them on the account of Pre-eminence, in the command of their forces, Sinox treacherously caused his two colleagues to be murdered, after which Boniface found means to treat Sinox in the same manner. So that, without the loss of one man on his side, he was in a short time delivered from three enemies, the imperial army remaining without a general. But Boniface was not much the better for this; for as soon as Placidia was informed of the affair, the command of those forces was given to count Sigisfultus, who, with some additional troops, had orders to attack him so vigorously, that Boniface at last had no hopes of being able to resist him; and hereupon, thro' spite, and desire of revenge, he abandoned himself to the most criminal blindness that a subject, and a Christian, could be guilty of in order to act against the service, both of GOD, and of his prince. For, betraying his honour, his country, and religion, after having left strong garrisons in all the towns, he went over himself into Spain to call the Vandals to his assistance. Having treated with Gisericus, the conditions were, that Africa should be divided into three parts; that Gisericus, with his Vandals, and Alani, should have two of them; and that he himself should possess the third; that each of them should enjoy their respective shares: (m) But that they would come to their assistance of each other as soon as any one should attempt to attack them.

Gisericus was highly pleased with so glorious an opportunity of establishing his Empire in Africa, (n) which the Goths had made several attempts to do, under their kings Alaricus, and Vallia. Be-

(l) Prosper. in Chron. vian. de vero iudic. l. 7.

(m) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Vand. c. 3.

(n) Sal-

fides,

A. D. fides, the Vandals themselves declared openly that they were urged
 426. by an inward impulse to go on that enterprize; and that they were not able to resist the strong inclination they had to invade Africa, whose inhabitants (both Africans, and Romans) God was resolved to punish, particularly for their abominable lewdness, by the means of that nation, who, tho' an impious, barbarous and cruel people, were nevertheless renowned for their extraordinary chastity. And indeed, as soon as they were masters of Africa, they made very good laws in favour of chastity, by abolishing all infamous places, and punishing rigorously not only adultery, but even simple fornication.

427. Therefore Gisericus, having left the Silingi in Andaloufia, passed over from Spain into Africa by the Streights, with eighty thousand Vandals, and Alani; (o) and immediately took possession of three moorish kingdoms that Boniface had resigned to him, keeping to himself, Numidia, Africa Minor, Bizacenum, and the province of Tripoli, between the two Syrtes down to Lybia, which included the Empire of the East.

In the mean while the friends of Boniface acquainted the empress with the wicked and treacherous proceedings of Aetius, which they had plainly discovered by his own letters to Boniface, when they were at Carthage, where they went on purpose to enquire into this affair, which had given them great cause of suspicion. Placidia was extremely provoked to find herself so dangerously deceived, but yet did not dare to make her sentiments known, because that Aetius, who was then become a very serviceable man, had all the forces of the Empire under his command, (p) and even at that time was performing great actions in Gaul to defend it against those nations on the other side of the Rhine, who had invaded that country. But in order to retrieve the error which she had been guilty of, by being thus misled, she immediately sent back those same friends of Boniface to Carthage, to assure him that she was intirely undeceived as to him; and that she solemnly promised to take him into favour as before; but withal she conjured him not to suffer the Empire to be made a prey to the Barbarians.

(o) Prosper. Idat. Miscell. Procop. Iorn. Vict. Utic. lib. 1. Procop. l. 1. cap. 3.
 (p) Prosper. in Chron.

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III

Boniface hereupon began sincerely to repent, and used his utmost endeavours to retract what he had done. (q) He promised great things to Gisericus, and offered him considerable sums, upon condition that he would pass over again into Spain. But this Vandal prince rejected all his proposals in a haughty manner, and even upbraided him shamefully with fickleness, which caused an open rupture between them, that proved very fatal to Boniface; for he was defeated in battle, his army cut to pieces, and himself forced to retire to Hippon, leaving the conquerour master of the field, who, after this, ran over all Africa, took the towns by force, and pulled down the Churches, destroying every thing by fire, sword, and plunder. (r) He made all the people captives without distinction, either of sex, or condition; and carried desolation with him, where-ever he went, by acting all the cruelties that could attend a war, rapes only excepted. So that of so many flourishing cities, and beautiful Churches, which, in those days adorned the seven provinces of Africa, there were none left, but those of Carthage, Hippon, and Cirta, the capital of Numidia, all the rest being destroyed, and reduced under the power of the Vandals.

A.D.

427.

428.

Now as the city of Hippon was the strongest of the three, and more able to make a defence. This was the place where Boniface retired, with most of the persons of distinction, (s) and particularly the bishops, who had escaped the fury of the Barbarians. Here he proposed to wait a better turn in his affairs, having sent for a relief to the Emperour Theodosius the younger, who gave orders to Aspar an experienced general to make all necessary preparations at Constantinople for that purpose. And at the same time there was a small number of Arians left in that city, who being tolerated by the too great lenity of the government, had like to have committed great disorders, upon an occasion which I shall now give an account of.

After the death of the Patriarch Sisinus, the Emperor ordered that Nestorius should be chosen in his place. He was Abbot of St. Euprepus of Antioch, who, thro' his hypocrisy, (t) had acquired the reputation of a most holy man, and besides, as nature had en-

(q) Procop. Vandal. lib. 1.

(r) Possid. in vit. Aug. cap. 28. Victor. Utic. de persecut.

(s) Possid. (t) Socr. l. 7. c. 29.

dowed

A. D. 428. dowed him with the gift of eloquence, (*u*) attended with a wonderful voice, (*v*) Theodosius thought he might one day become a second Chrysostom to instruct and edify the People. But the world was very much deceived; for he had a vast deal of presumption, with an equal share of ignorance; and withal being deceived by his own admirable manner of delivery, he esteemed himself one of the greatest men for learning, and therefore would not vouchsafe to read the works of the ancients. This was the reason why he obstinately maintained, the blessed Virgin could not be called the Mother of God, because he did not conceive that there was but one Person in JESUS CHRIST, which being united to human nature, was both God and Man. He was not altogether a Photinian, or a Paulinist, since he did not believe that JESUS CHRIST was man only. (*x*) Neither was he an Arian, because he confessed that the Word, which was in JESUS CHRIST, was the true God consubstantial with the Father. Nor can we say that he was an Apollinarist, inasmuch as he distinguished both the divine and human nature: But he was the author of a new heresy, whereby in a direct opposition to that of Appollinarius, he maintained that there were two Persons in JESUS CHRIST, whereof the one was true Son of God, begotten from all eternity, with the Spirit of his Father; and the other was man only begotten by a Virgin, who afterwards was not the mother of God, but only the mother of that man, who is CHRIST. This was the blasphemous opinion of this impious man, who took great care not to declare himself immediately upon his promotion to the patriarchal see. On the contrary, in order to acquire the reputation of being a most zealous Catholick, and by that means artfully to introduce his heresy, he openly declared war against the Hereticks of all kinds, (*y*) and particularly Arians.

For, on the very day that he was consecrated, which was the tenth of April in the year four hundred and twenty eight, (*z*) as he was preaching in his Church, in the presence of the Emperor, where a prodigious number both of courtiers and citizens were assembled on this occasion, he addressed him after an extravagant

(*u*) Theodor. Epist. ad Spor.
ibid Vincent. Lyrin. cont. hæref. c. 17.
7. c. 29.

(*v*) Cass. de Incarn. l. 7. Socrat.

(*y*) Idem. c. 16.

(*x*) Socr.
(*z*) Socr. l.

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A. D.
428.

manner, which (in the opinion of those who had any understanding) expressed more vanity than zeal, saying, " Give me, my lord, " give me this world cleansed of hereticks, and I will give you " heaven. Help me to destroy the enemies of God upon earth, " and I will help you to conquer the Persians your enemies. There undoubtedly was very little modesty in expressions of this kind, but he still shewed much less prudence in what he acted about five or six days afterwards. For, tho' the thing was good in itself, and from great disorders there arose a considerable advantage, yet his manner of doing it could no wise be approved of. The Arians, whose number at Constantinople was then but very small, had gained so much ground, thro' the weakness of the government, that, notwithstanding all the edicts, they had found means to procure to themselves a Church, where they assembled in private; and Nestorius undertook, by his own authority to demolish it in the day time, on purpose to assume to himself the honour of an action, which he pretended to be the effect of an extraordinary zeal. (b) He even ordered Anthony, bishop of Germa, in the Hellespont, to proceed openly against the Macedonians, who had taken the same liberty in several parts of that province; but these two attempts, which were made in a violent manner, without the authority either of the prince, or of the magistrates, were attended at first with very fatal consequences. For the Macedonians, who could not bear the outrages which were acted against them, fell into such an excess of fury that they caused Anthony to be murdered. (c) The Arians, on the other hand, seeing that Nestorius had begun to pull down their temple, were enraged to such a degree that they themselves set fire to it, which, having reached some of the neighbouring houses, had like to have caused a general conflagration throughout the city. This alarmed all the inhabitants; and the Arians, who were in despair, and had reason to fear least the government should fall on them, ran immediately to their arms, in order either to defend, or to revenge themselves. But there was such speedy care taken in all parts, that there was no farther damage done either by the tumults, or by the fire; and all things were made easy by the prudent management of the magi-

(b) Socr. l. 7. c. 31.

(c) Idem. c. 29.

A. D. 428. strates, to whom the small number of Arians, that were in Constantinople readily submitted, upon the assurances which were given them that the fire was not laid to their charge.

But indeed this violent proceeding rendered Nestorius so odious, that as he had undertaken the pulling-down of the temple without the knowledge of the Emperour, it was also believed that he had ordered his own people to set fire to it; (d) and from that he was called *Fire-brand*, both by the Catholicks, and by the Hereticks. So that, if the voice of the people be that of GOD, making itself known by the general consent of persons of all kinds, who unanimously speak the same thing, without any premeditated design, we may say that this fatal name, which was given to him, was an omen of the horrible disorders, which he would soon promote in the Church, by causing a flame in the house of GOD, thro' his heresy. But as it is ever in the power of GOD to produce good from evil itself, which he does not prevent, thro' a just judgment that we ought always to revere, tho' we need not make it our business to comprehend it; so these disorders at Constantinople, and in Hellespont, proved in the end very advantageous to the Church. For Theodosius perceived by this, that edicts not put in execution, were not only a toleration for crimes, but also lessened the authority of the prince, whom, in process of time, the people would neither fear, nor respect, being accustomed to hear his ordinances published without effect.

Therefore, having taken a resolution to see his laws obeyed, after the example of the great Theodosius, his great grand-father, he made a new edict on the thirtieth of May in the same year, (e) whereby he renews most of the laws, which he himself, and his predecessors had so often made against the Hereticks, and particularly against the Arians and Macedonians; and requires absolutely, that all the Churches, which they had either built, or taken from the Catholicks, should immediately be given up by them. After which the laws were so strictly put in execution, that all the Churches were actually taken from them, and even that, which the Macedonians had without the walls of Constantinople. And this proceeding, far from causing any disorder, had a quite contrary ef-

(d) Socr.

(e) Leg. 65. de Hæret. Cod. Theod.

fect; for many of them, finding that they could not have the exercise of their religion, (*f*) began to consider with themselves, and resolved at last to embrace the Catholick faith. Which shews that the most effectual means of bringing back the strayed sheep to the Church, without violence, is to deprive them of the exercise of their worship, by demolishing the temples, which they had usurped, and reducing them to the extremity of having no place where they can assemble. This was the state of affairs at Constantinople, when preparations were making there in order to send forces against the Vandals.

A. D.
428.

In the mean while Gisericus, who was informed that Boniface had retired into Hippon, came and laid siege to it, believing that, if he could once take that place, which was counted the strongest city in the whole country, he would soon be master likewise of Cirta and Carthage; (*g*) St. Augustin was then Bishop of Hippon; and, tho' he was far advanced in years, and decayed with sickness and grief to see the utter ruin and desolation of his country, yet nevertheless he omitted no opportunity of doing what the most robust and zealous man could undertake, for the service and consolation of a poor besieged people. He visited the sick, attended those who were dying, and distributed alms unto all the distressed, who had retired to Hippon as a place of refuge. Besides, he preached daily for the comfort and instruction of his people, during this time of affliction. We have now, amongst his works, one of those sermons which he made whilst the city was besieged; (*b*) and thus he continued constantly, till at last, being forced to yield unto the fatigue of so great a labour, he died like a martyr of charity, in three months from the beginning of the siege, in the seventy sixth year of his age, and the thirty sixth of his being a bishop. His genius, doctrine, and virtues were great. The number, strength, and beauty of his works, with the disputes and victories, which he had obtained over the Hereticks, gloriously and justly procured him the admiration of the world, and rendered his name so considerable in the Church that no elogium can be equal to it. Nor do I know how to give a more high and perfect idea of

430.

(*f*) Socr. l. 7. c. 31. (*g*) Possid. in vit. Aug. (*b*) August. Serm. 3. de Temp. Possid. c. 31. Prosper. in Chron. Victor. Utic. Per. Vand. l. 1.

- A. D.* so great a man, than by saying only that he was St. Augustin. (i)
 430. By his death, God granted him what he had so earnestly prayed for, which was, that if he had resolved the destruction of Hippon, he would take him out of the world, that he might not be eye-witness of so deplorable a misfortune. For the Vandals (fourteen months after having laid siege to the place) retired a little way into the neighbouring countrey, in order to seek for provisions, which they were in great want of; and at their return, finding that this city
 431. was abandoned by the few inhabitants whom the plague and famine had spared, they set fire to it, and reduced it almost into ashes, excepting the Church and the library of St. Augustin, which were preserved by a most particular providence, otherwise we should have been deprived of those excellent writings, which are to this day the richest treasure of the Church.

But in short, what compleated the entire ruin of Africa was, that Aspar, whom the Emperour Theodosius had sent to the assistance of Boniface, having got together a small number of forces, ventured a battle, wherein he was defeated; and now, there being no hopes left, he was forced to retire on board his ships, and return to Constantinople. On this occasion it was that Marcian, who was then an officer under the command of Aspar, being taken prisoner, received a wonderful omen that he should one day be master of the Empire. This made a great noise in the world at that time, tho' the event did not come to pass till above eighteen years after. (k) For it is reported, that as he was sleeping in the sun, with a company of other prisoners, in the palace of Gisericus, who intended to view them in the afternoon, this prince observed, from one of his windows, that an eagle, distinguishing this prisoner from all the rest, hovered over him in the air, extending his wings, as it were, to shade him from the sun; and hereupon Gisericus, believing this man to be a person particularly beloved by God, who probably designed him for the Empire, gave him his liberty: But first of all made him take a solemn oath, that in whatever state he should be, he never would make war against the Vandals. Marcian, after the death of Theodosius, was accordingly proclaimed Emperour; and, tho' he was a warlike prince, and

(i) Possid. c. 29. Possid. Procop. Possid.

(k) Procop. l. 1. c. 4.

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very zealous for the religion, yet he ever was so strict to the promise which he had made to Gisericus, that he would hear of no proposals that tended to retrieve Africa from out of the hands of the Arian Barbarians.

A. D.

431.

As for Boniface, after having made fruitless endeavours, and performed all that a man of courage could undertake, he was obliged to retire to Rome, where the empress Placidia gave him a very kind reception. (l) She was so intirely convinced of his innocence, and so provoked at the treachery of Aetius that she gave the command of the forces to Boniface, who did not long enjoy his new employment. For Aetius, who could not bear to see his rival restored to favour, challenged him to a fight, where he received a wound, of which he died after a Christian reconciliation with Aetius, whom the present juncture of affairs had called home, in order to be sent against the French, the Bourguignons, and other people of Germany, who had invaded Gaul. After this, the Romans on the one part, not being in a condition to send considerable forces into Africa, and on the other, Gisericus, having lost a great number of his men at the siege of Hippon, and in the two battles which he had won, was desirous to gain time that he might strengthen himself in his conquests; (m) and therefore it was then an easy matter to make a peace upon condition that Gisericus should remain in quiet possession of that part of Africa which had been yielded up to him, and that (as an acknowledgment that he held it of the Emperour) he should pay him a certain sum of money yearly. (n) He even sent his son Hunnericus to Rome as an hostage, and, for some time, cultivated the friendship of the Romans so artfully, that they sent him back in a very obliging manner, to shew him that they intirely relied on his word.

432.

433.

434.

435.

But they soon after perceived, by an experience, which proved fatal both to the religion, and to the Empire, that the friendship of enemies, who are not sincerely reconciled, is more dangerous than their hatred; and that a peace with them is often more pernicious than a war, with the usual consequences of it. Gisericus to this time had carried on the war only as an enemy, without

(l) Prosper. in Chron. cop. l. i. c. 4.

(m) Prosper. in Chron. Miscell. l. 14.

(n) Proc-

meddling

A. D. meddling with religion, which seemed not to concern him, leaving to every one a liberty of conscience, even in his own family. But as soon as he found that his Empire was firmly established in the three moorish kingdoms, and in a considerable part of Numidia, he took advantage of the peace in order to make war against the catholick religion, which he resolved to destroy, and raise up Arianism on its ruins, throughout all the parts of his new dominions. (o) The first thing he endeavoured at was, to bring-over the bishops, in order the more easily to persuade the people to follow their example. But finding these prelates so stedfast, that neither his prayers, promises, threats, nor even all his ill usage towards them, were able to pervert them, he expelled them their Churches, and substituted Arians in their places. And, in order to terrify the people, he shewed a particular severity to four Spanish Gentlemen, viz. Arcadius, Probus, Paschalius, and Eutychius, who were of his household, and were highly in his favour, because of their eminent qualifications, and the zeal which they had ever expressed for his service. At first he used his utmost endeavours, to persuade them to embrace Arianism; but they constantly replied, without deliberation, that *JESUS CHRIST* was their first master, and that the loyalty, which they had promised inviolably to maintain to the prince, whom they had the honour to serve, could no wise bind them to betray that faith which was due to their great master whom they worshiped as a true *GOD*, and to whom all the powers, both of heaven and earth, were subject. Gisericus was furiously enraged to find that his first endeavours were thus rendered fruitless, even by those, who, in his opinion, were obliged implicitly to obey him; and therefore he resolved, either to conquer them, or to make such an example of them as should shew all his subjects what they were to expect, should they attempt to resist his commands. He first expelled them his court in an ignominious manner; then sent them into banishment; where, for some time, they underwent great hardships. After this, finding that neither their disgrace, nor the miseries they endured, could soften their hearts, he caused them inhumanly to be tortured after several different manners, and at last condemned them to die. So that these

(o) Prosper. in Chron.

four persons were the first martyrs, who died in the defence of the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, during this cruel persecution from the Arian Vandals in Africa. But what provoked Gisericus most was, that he never could conquer the resolution of Paulillus, who was brother to Paschasius, and Euty chius. This was a youth, for whom he had a great affection; and indeed he was very deserving, both for his sprightly genius, and his admirable gifts of nature. The caresses, and threats of the Tyrant could neither win, nor terrify him. He continued stedfast in the generous profession of the catholick faith, declaring an abhorrence to Arianism. Therefore Gisericus, changing his affection into fury, caused him to be most barbarously scourged, and ordered him to be sent amongst the vilest of his slaves, resolving that he should not be put to death, to avoid the shame of being overcome by a child.

But what was yet more deplorable, (after having deceived the Romans, by a seeming friendship, and strictly observed the peace during the space of four years, (*p*) the better to compleat his design) he managed his affairs with so much conduct and secrecy, that he suddenly surprised Carthage, at a time when the inhabitants of that city thought themselves most secure of his friendship: Carthage, which, seven hundred and ninety five years before, had been destroyed by the Romans, after having so often contended with them for Empire, and was now so well re-established, that altho' it was subject to Rome, it nevertheless was not inferiour to it either in greatness, beauty, magnificence, or in the number of its inhabitants! (*q*) It was a wonderful thing to see its stately buildings; the infinite treasures which were daily exported, and imported; its magistrates, and senate, and its proconsul, with his pretorian guard, his court and army, which had the appearance of imperial majesty. You would have said that it was a second Rome in Africa, so near was the equality in all things between Carthage, and its conquerour; with this exception, that it surpassed Rome in all manner of voluptuous disorders. (*r*) For at that time, it was one of the most debauched cities in the world. Its inhabitants (altho' they were Christians for the greatest part) were given up to

(*p*) Prosper. in Chron.
(*r*) Salvian.

(*q*) Lips. de Magn. Rom. l. 3. Salv. de Prov. l. 7.

A. D. luxury and drunkenness, as also to other infamous crimes, which
 439. commonly bring the divine vengeance down upon the people. They were slothful, effeminate, and dissolute, constantly in the Circus, at the theatre, or in houses of lewdness. They were haughty, and impudent in the practice of their vices, acting all kind of detestable sins in publick, and in a boasting manner; they insolently turned virtue into ridicule, and impiously despised it. For even when they met one of the solitaries of Egypt, or of Palestine, or any of those persons, who professed a life more conformable to the perfection of the Gospel, they made a jest of him, and loaded him with injuries, and curses, as if he had been a monster who ought to have been banished the world, least the sight of it should prove infectious. There were nevertheless many pious sentiments in this great city, particularly amongst the clergy, who lamented, before God, all these disorders, which they had made fruitless endeavours to oppose. But the number of these was so small, when compared to that of those debauched and luxurious people, that we may well say the whole city was corrupted, and that the clamours of their crimes having ascended the tribunal of God in order to demand justice, he was obliged to deliver them into the hands of the Vandals, (s) that they might execute on them the decrees of a just punishment.

On the nineteenth of October the Vandals surpris'd this city, at a time when they little thought of it; and as soon as Gisericus had entered it with his whole army, who seized on all the parts of the town, he acted all manner of cruelties on the inhabitants, of whatever condition they were. (t) Persons of the first distinction were made slaves, and others were bound in irons. He commanded all people in general to bring to him their gold, silver, jewels, and other precious moveables; after which he left the rest to be plundered. So that, in a very short time, this great city, which was one of the richest in the whole world, was reduced to an extreme poverty; and its immense treasures, which had been acquired in a criminal manner, and served daily to minister to their other crimes, fell a prey to the Barbarians, as if that were their reward for the service, which God required of them by punish-

(s) Prosper.

(t) Victor. Utic. l. 1.

ing those criminals. At the same time he gave orders that all bishops and persons of quality should be expelled the neighbouring towns, if they would not renounce the catholick faith; and that, if they were not immediately gone, after being miserably stripped of all their wealth, they should be sent into captivity. But he found soon after, that neither banishment, nor slavery could effectually answer his end; therefore he resolved that they should all be turned out of Africa, so set them on board of ships in order to cross the seas, with no other provision but their misery. Thus they appeared in Spain, Italy, Palestine and Syria in a most lamentable condition. There were, among these unhappy fugitives, persons of the highest dignity, magistrates, and senators, with their wives, and children, reduced to beg bread for their subsistence, which drew tears from the eyes of those who considered the deplorable change of their fortune, and endeavoured to relieve them; (u) and, amongst others, Theodoretus, of whose letters to his friends there are yet several extant, wherein he recommends to them many of these distressed noblemen. But those, who were treated with the greatest inhumanity, were, the holy bishop of Carthage, *Quod vult Deus*, with most of his priests and clergy; for the Tyrant caused them to be put almost naked on board of an old rotten vessel without bread, or provisions, leaving them to the mercy of the wind, and waves, that they might perish either by shipwreck, or by famine, if the vessel should remain any time at sea before it sunk. And indeed they could not well have escaped the one, or the other, had not God, thro' a special providence, been their guide; for in a few days they happily reached the port of Naples, where they were received with all the respect, and charity that was due to these glorious confessors of JESUS CHRIST.

But the pastors being thus banished, the flock was soon miserably dispersed. (w) For even then Gisericus deprived the Catholics of the exercise of their religion. He seized on all the Churches of the city, and, after having plundered their treasures, he destroyed some of them, and gave those, which he had a mind to spare, to his Arians; as the cathedral, with a few others of the celebrated Churches; particularly those two which were built without the

(u) Theodor. Ep. 29. 30. & seq.

(w) Victor. Utic. l. 1.

A.D. walls of Carthage, in honour of St. Cyprian. (x) The one was
 439. built on the very spot, where that holy and illustrious bishop of
 Carthage suffered martyrdom; and the other on the place where
 his shrine was revered by the faithful. And in order to per-
 plex the Catholics, he would not so much as suffer them to bury
 their dead with those holy ceremonies which were observed by all
 the Churches in those days. And to render them still the more in-
 famous, by taking from them all the exteriour marks, which dis-
 tinguished them from Infidels, he commanded them to inter their
 dead in a very plain manner, without the least solemnity, or sing-
 ing, but with a profound silence, as we see now a days our Prote-
 stants in France bury their dead. Yet this seemed very hard to
 those Christians, who were then in the true Church (as indeed so
 it was): (y) For Victor of Utica, who gives us an account of this
 affair, says, that he cannot call to mind so grievous a persecution
 without shedding tears. Perhaps those persons of the pretended
 reformed religion, who will read this history, by way of diversion,
 will likewise be instructed by it, whether they like it or not: And
 when they find that the ancient Church speaks of temples built in
 honour of, and over the tombs of martyrs; that it mentions pomps,
 solemnities, and ecclesiastical canticles, at the burial of the dead,
 with sacrifices offered up to God for them; as the besieged bi-
 shops in Hippon offered them up for St. Augustin: (z) That it
 speaks of the ordination of priests, the consecration of bishops,
 who governed the Churches, and dioceses, with a thousand other
 holy ceremonies of this kind, which were practised throughout the
 whole Church; when, I say, they will see these things, perhaps,
 if they have any thought at all, or the least glimpse of light, they
 will examine within themselves, whether, or no, they have been
 deceived by abolishing (under a pretence of innovation) those
 things that were practised in the first centuries, for which they
 pretend to have a very great veneration, and which their first mini-
 sters proposed to them as models of their reformation. But I leave
 them to make these reflections, which my history offers to them,
 without dwelling on them.

(x) Procop. l. 2.

(y) Vict. Utic. de pers. Vand. l. 1.

(z) Possid.

Now,

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Now, as it generally happens, one misfortune does not come alone. At the same time that the Romans received so fatal a blow from the Arian Vandals in Africa, they also bore a considerable loss in Gaul, thro' the rashness of Littorius, their general; whose arrogance, and impiety God was resolved to punish by the arms of the Visigoths. Theodoricus, their king, had began a war, in order to recover Narbona, which was formerly in the possession of Ataulphus; and reserved to the Romans, in the treaty which they made with Vallia. Aetius, who was then engaged against the French, and the Bourguignons, sent Littorius, one of his lieutenants, with a considerable number of men, in order to relieve that city. (a) The latter, who was a brave and prudent general, took his measures so well, that he conveyed provisions into the place, which was reduced to the utmost extremity, and obliged Theodoricus shamefully to raise the siege. He continued some time to carry on the war successfully against the Goths, in the Narbonian Gaul, and got the better of them a second time before Arles, which they had besieged: For he fell upon them, and at last forced them to retire to Toulouse the capitol of their kingdom, where he engaged them. Theodoricus, who found himself very much weakened by the many losses, which he had lately sustained, was in fear of being obliged to abandon his kingdom, and therefore used all means to obtain peace, which he demanded in a very submissive manner, (b) applying himself for that purpose, even to the catholic bishops, who, as he thought, had a greater interest with, and would be more respected by the Romans.

But Littorius, who was a Pagan, confided chiefly in the auxiliary troops of Huns, which he had in his army, (c) and yet more in the answers of diviners, and demons, who, with the victory, promised that he should enter Toulouse in triumph, and therefore he would not hear of any proposals of peace. So that Theodoricus saw himself under an absolute necessity of exposing, both his fortune, and kingdom to the hazard of a battle. We may plainly see on this occasion, how the presumption and rashness of a general can render his strength and valour fruitless, against an enemy

(a) Prosper. in Chron.
Prov. Prosper. in Chron.

(b) Isid. Chron. Gott.

(c) Salvian. l. 7. de

A. D. much weaker than himself, who takes those prudent measures, which his duty towards God, and man requires. (*d*) Theodoricus, altho' an Arian, seeing himself thus compelled either to conquer, or inevitably perish, applied to God. He covered himself with a hair-cloath, and Cilice, and prostrated himself on the ground, where he passed the night before the day of battle in prayer, whilst Littorius, who depended on his forces, and oracles, was already triumphant, not doubting, in the least, but that he should soon destroy the Empire of the Goths, and by this action, eclipse all the glory of Aetius, of whom he had conceived a jealousy. (*e*) After this Theodoricus placed himself at the head of his forces; and, being full of hopes and courage, he so inspired the hearts of his people, that the Goths never fought with more bravery and resolution. For, tho' Littorius, who had the advantage of numbers, had likewise at first, that of the battle; and the Romans and Huns, united, had already forced them, and were making a most horrible slaughter on all sides, yet the Goths received them with an incredible courage, and resolved to be cut to pieces sooner than lose a foot of ground; when on a sudden fortune changed by Littorius's too great eagerness for victory.

For having imprudently rushed in amongst the enemies, with the thoughts of his being invincible and invulnerable, according to the predictions of the diviners, he found himself so entirely surrounded, that not being able to disengage himself, he was taken prisoner; this caused a great disorder amongst the Romans, who, having lost their general, began to be disheartened, (*f*) and were easily defeated by the Goths, who, instead of being conquered, were now become masters of the victory. There never was any thing so deplorable as the fortune of this wretched idolater, who found by his own disaster, how vain and deceitful were the oracles, and predictions of false deities. (*g*) For, instead of that imaginary triumph, which he proposed to have after the victory, he himself served to make that of Theodoricus more great. When he entered Toulouse he made Littorius follow him loaded with irons, and bare headed, with his hands bound behind his back, exposed to the insults of the whole army, and to the Scoffs of the people, who

(*d*) Salvian.(*e*) Prosper.(*f*) *Isid. Chron.*(*g*) Salvian lib. 7.

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came in crowds from all parts, in order to upbraid him with his ridiculous vanity; which they did in a thousand bitter expressions; after which they flung him into a deep ditch, where he was reduced to such a miserable condition, that the Goths themselves at last, out of compassion to his miseries, delivered him out of them by putting him to death, at his own request. This victory would have occasioned to the Romans the utter loss of all the Narbonian Gaul, had not Aetius, who had at that time, a great many more enemies to deal withal, come to terms of peace with Theodoricus, by the means of Avitus whom he sent to him. (b) This was the same Avitus who not long after became Emperour; and he managed the negociation so well with Theodoricus that at last he prevailed with him to make peace. So that this prince, who some time before, like a vanquished enemy, begged for peace in a most submissive manner, now granted it with so much the more glory, being victorious. And by this we may see how much the fickleness of fortune and the uncertainty of human affairs, which the people of the world so often complain of, is equally useful to the fortunate and the unfortunate: Since it checks the insolence of those who swell with pride in prosperity, and gives fresh hopes to others who are oppressed in adversity.

In the mean while Gisericus, after the taking of Carthage, (i) finding it easy to make himself master of Africa minor, Numidia Bizacenum, and Getulia, he divided the lands amongst his officers, reserving the best part of them to himself. After which, most of the bishops, magistrates, and noblemen, who had concealed themselves, believing that, if they acknowledged him for Emperour, he would receive them as his subjects, ventured to present themselves before him one day as he was taking the air on the sea-side. They most humbly begg'd that he would grant them at least the liberty to remain in Africa, where they would live peaceably under his government, without demanding either their Churches, or their estates; since it was his will that they should be deprived of them. The bishops added besides, that the only favour which they begg'd of him was, that he would permit them to give spiritual assistance to the people, who by that means would be able to

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(b) Sidon. Apoll. in panegy. Avit.

(i) Victor.

A.D. 440. support more chearfully the change of their fortune, and would be the more loyal to him. The Tyrant, far from being moved with compassion at so deplorable a sight, and so reasonable a request, looked on them with furious and threatening eyes, and made them this answer. "I am resolved to destroy every man of you all, and not to suffer that any one of your name, or of your race should remain alive; and after this dare you to come here to beg favours of me?" Whereupon, as an instance of his barbarity, he gave orders that they should immediately be cast into the sea, which undoubtedly the soldiers would have executed, had not the officers, who were about him, by their prayers, and remonstrances, prevailed on him to suspend his resolution; so he only caused them to be expelled his presence in a shameful manner. After which these holy prelates returned in great affliction to their retirements; whence, from time to time, they privately came out, in order to comfort the people, and to celebrate the divine mysteries with them in remote places, when they could find a favourable opportunity.

In a little time after Gisericus, (*k*) who had formed greater designs than that of the conquest of Africa, set out with a powerful fleet in order to invade Sicily; but being informed that count Sebastian had passed over from Spain into Africa, he made the best of his way back to Carthage fearing least this Roman general should take possession of it during his absence. (*l*) This count was an experienced warrior, and had formerly been an intimate friend of Boniface, whose daughter he had married. And even Placidia made him general of the Roman armies, after the death of his father-in-law; (*m*) but being obliged to yield up his place to Aetius, who could not bear to see him at court, he repaired to that of Constantinople. There he found enemies who under hand had done him such ill offices, that, being privately informed of the resolution which was taken to seize on his person, he went over to Theodoricus, king of the Visigoths, who was then at war with the Romans. This prince gave him a body of men, in order to pass over from Barcelona into Africa, on a design which was quite contrary to what Gisericus imagined. For, instead of undertaking any thing against him, he went over on purpose to beg his protection,

(*k*) Prosper. in Chron. (*l*) Victor. l. 1. (*m*) Marcell. in Chron.

promising

promising to serve him with the same fidelity which he had so long shewed for the Romans, who had rewarded his services with the utmost ingratitude. Gisericus was highly pleased to find so favourable an opportunity of increasing his forces, by the means of this great man, who being against the Romans, must prove to their disadvantage. He therefore received him with all the marks imaginable of honour and affection, shewing an extraordinary esteem for his merit, being of opinion, that Sebastian, declaring for his interest, many more of the discontented Romans would be invited over by so great an example. Thus revenge, which is a most dangerous rock to the virtue of extraordinary men, caused the son-in-law to fall wretchedly into the same abyss of misfortunes and crimes which his father had been guilty of, by his fatal alliance with the Vandals.

Nevertheless there was this difference in their fate, that, altho' revenge was the cause of Sebastian's misfortunes, yet it gave him an opportunity of behaving in a most glorious manner when he openly confessed **JESUS CHRIST** in the presence of Gisericus. (n) For this prince, fearing least a man, whose counsels he highly approved of, might repent of what he had done, and afterwards prove an enemy to him, resolved either to make away with him, or to engage him more zealously in his service by persuading him to become an Arian. Therefore having ordered him one day to attend him in the presence of his Arian bishops, and of the officers of his court, he said to him: "I have indeed a just cause to commend you, and to be satisfied with your behaviour, and the fidelity which till now you have shewed me, according to the oath you took, when you came to beg my protection. Besides I place a value on your friendship; but in order to render it lasting, you must be united to me, and to my nation, by a stronger tie than that of your oath, which I cannot entirely rely on, unless you strengthen it by a bond which I have still a greater dependence upon. This bond, my beloved Sebastian, (said he) is that of religion, which, by uniting men to God, does likewise unite them more perfectly together than any thing besides. Therefore, if you propose to make our friendship perfect, I require, in

(n) Victor. l. 1.

A. D. " the presence of these bishops, and my subjects, who shall be
 441. " witnesses of your compliance, that you embrace the true reli-
 " gion, which the Vandals, who have adopted you, make profes-
 " sion of.

Sebastian, was not prepared for this discourse, nevertheless he did not seem surprised; but answered the king with a most incredible presence of mind, and in a manner which appeared both serious and agreeable: " I humbly beg the favour of your majesty, (said he) to order that one of the same loaves of bread which are served at your table, may be brought hither. " Which being done accordingly by the king's command, who thought that he was going to answer his request after a surprising and satisfactory Manner: " This bread which you see, (continued Sebastian) in order " to be reduced to the state it is in, and made worthy of being " served at the table of a great king, must be kneaded with water, " and baked with fire; after that the bran is parted from the flow- " er of the wheat: So likewise, in order to receive the divine cha- " racter of a Christian thro' the catholick faith, which made me " worthy of God, there was first a necessity that I should be " cleansed by the water of holy baptism, and that my heart should " be filled with the fire of the holy Ghost, after having separated " it, by his mercy, from many others, who, thro' his justice, were " left in the number of unbelievers. But pray, Sir, do one thing " if possible; break this bread into several pieces, then let it be " mingled with water and sent to the oven, in order to be baked " over again; if you can, after this, make it a better loaf of bread " than it is now at this time, I am heartily ready to comply with " what you require of me. " The king understanding his mean- ing, made no reply, seeming as it were willing that he should continue peaceably in the profession of his religion; but soon after he caused him to be put to death upon another account, as it was
 442. easy for him to find a pretence. For after having concluded the peace with Valentinian, upon such conditions as were very disadvantageous to the Empire, he became so insupportably assuming in his prosperity, that some of the greatest men of his nation conspired against him. (o) But the plot being discovered, he caused

(o) Prosper. in Thron.

to be put to death, not only the guilty, whom he tortured in diverse cruel kinds, but also treated in the like manner those, whose loyalty he barely suspected, which was enough in his opinion to convict them as criminals. So that it was no difficult matter for him to involve count Sebastian, with so many others, in this disaster. And in truth he sacrificed so many brave men to his capricious and inhuman suspicions, that, with a view of preserving himself by such unjust and barbarous means, he weakened his forces much more than he could have done by the loss of many battles. This affair proved prejudicial to religion, for he took this occasion indirectly to renew the persecution against the Catholics, to whom he had granted some kind of indulgence, in regard to the peace. (p) For whenever any bishop, in his sermons, mentioned the names of Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Holofernes, and other princes, whose crimes were reprov'd, and whose memory was rendered detestable in the holy scriptures, he was immediately accused of having hinted at the king's person, in order to render him odious to his subjects. And hereupon Gisericus, without admitting of any excuse, condemned him at once to banishment: So that, on such, or even slighter suspicions, most of the bishops were expelled their Churches; and if any of them happened to die, during their banishment, he would not suffer that their places should be filled up by catholic pastors. Yet nevertheless the people, being assisted by the special grace of JESUS CHRIST, which gave them comfort during the absence of their bishops, continued stedfast in the purity of the faith, notwithstanding the deceits and violence of the Arians. In short, the cruel suspicions of Gisericus, who was ever in fear of losing a life, which he seemed to preserve only to destroy a multitude of men, were the occasion of the ruin and desolation of many countries, by the Huns, whom that prince had called over into Gaul. And thus he endeavoured, by unjust means, to avoid the fatal consequences which he was afraid of, and the punishment that he justly deserv'd, for all the evils which he had committed thro' his brutal and suspicious temper. So that Gisericus, after having oppress'd Africa with his cruelty, applied to the barbarity of others, for the destruction of Europe, As if

A. D.
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(p) Victor. Utic. l. 1.

A.D. 442. fate had decreed that all the mischiefs which should fall upon christianity, should either be promoted by the Arians themselves, who were the persecutors of it, or by other people, thro' their means. But in order to give a more perfect account of the cause and consequence of so destructive an evil, which has been related in so many different shapes, I shall be obliged in a few words, to turn back to some former passages of this History.

The End of the VIIIth BOOK.





THE HISTORY OF ARIANISM.

BOOK IX.



THE Huns, who had forsaken those large and vast countries which lie between the dead Lake and the Glacial Seas, having driven the Goths out of Dacia, in the year 376, continued peaceably there, from that time during the reign of the great Theodosius, whose fortune, courage and high reputation were, as we may say, so many strong bulworks, which opposed the irruptions of the Barbarians. But after the death of this prince, from the beginning of the Empire of Arcadius, and Honorius, when all things were in disorder, the ambition and jealousy of the ministers who governed them,

A. D.
442.

A. D. these fierce nations, finding no body to oppose them, (*a*) passed
 442. the Danube, and laid waste the neighbouring provinces of Constantinople, particularly Thracia, and Scythia minor, where the holy bishops Theotimus, (whose virtue and goodness they highly admired) appeased their fury, and even converted many of them to the faith. There were others amongst them, who, being invited
 395. by Ruffinus, made incursions into Asia minor, and Syria, where, finding no resistance, (*b*) they gave way to their unbounded cruelty, and acted openly all the crimes that could be expected from the most inhuman of Barbarians. Several of them, following the steps of those who first entered Dacia, took the same road; and having passed the Danube, marched into Thracia, and Pannonia, where they began to settle, making war sometimes against the Romans, and at other times, fighting for them, according as it suited most with their interest, as the other nations had done, who had passed before them into the provinces of the Empire.

They were divided under several little kings, or chiefs, who would sometimes even hire themselves to serve different parties. Some of them were in the army of Radagaisus, whilst others were in that of Stilico. Alaricus had numbers of them in his army, and Sarus at the same time commanded a body of them in the service of the Emperour Honorius. Aetius brought an army of them out of Pannonia, to the assistance of John, who had usurped the Empire after the death of Honorius, and sent for a considerable body of them, whom he made use of, under the command of Lit-⁷torius in the wars against the Goths. But amongst all these kings of the Huns, he who became the most powerful, and made himself master of the rest, was the formidable Atila. The terrour which his name carried with it, by the dreadful desolation, which he caused throughout the finest provinces of the world, made him assume to himself the surname of the scourge of God, who was resolved to punish the sins of mankind, with that terrible instrument of his wrath and justice.

This Atila was Son to Munzuccus, (*c*) the most potent of those who had taken upon them the title of king amongst the Huns,

(*a*) Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 25.
 Claud. lib. 2. in Ruf.

(*b*) Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 1. Hieron. ep. 3. & 40.
 (c) Jornand. de reb. Get. cap. 35.

from the time that they began to pursue the conquest of new dominions for their establishment. For hitherto they had lived without laws, or policy; and were subject to no government. (d) After the death of his father and his two uncles Ostar, and Roas, (e) who were successors to the kingdom, he took the government upon him jointly with his brother Bleda, who reigned with him. (f) He soon carried his conquests much farther than his predecessors had done; (g) for, not being satisfied with Dacia, whence he had driven out the Goths, he marched into those provinces on the other side of the Danube, which were inhabited by the Gepidi, and the Arian Ostrogoths, who paid allegiance to him. (h) Ardaricus was then king of the Gepidi, and the Ostrogoths were commanded by three brothers, viz. Valarimus, Theodemirus, and Videmirus, under the authority of Atila. (i) Being thus supported by such valliant subjects he found it no great difficulty to render himself master of Pannonia, (k) where those of his nation had already gained great advantages. (l) He then marched towards the West, plundering the cities of Illyria, and afterwards to the East, and South, where he caused great devastations in Macedonia, (m) Greece, Mysia, and Thracia, destroying every thing in his way up to the very gates of Constantinople, and demolishing all the towns, except those of Andrinople, and Heraclea; so that he compelled the Emperour Theodosius the younger shamefully to beg for peace; which he could not obtain, without giving him large sums of money. He insisted upon an immediate payment of six thousand pounds of gold, and obliged the Emperour to pay him one thousand yearly: So that the Eastern Empire, whatever colour they might use, to make this pass for a pension, in order to save their honour, yet nevertheless they became tributaries to the Huns.

Atila, who was naturally vain, was now so puffed up with pride at his extraordinary success, that he could no longer bear a partner, with whom he was obliged to share his honour and advantages, (n) so caused his own brother inhumanly to be put to death, and then reigned solely over all the Huns, by the means of this

A. D.

442.

444.

(d) Amm. l. 31. (e) Jorn. *ibid.* (f) Paul. Diac. in Misc. l. 15. (g) Dacia Ripens. Dacia Mediter. (h) Jorn. c. 28. (i) Jorn. c. 48. (k) Marcell. (l) Marcell. in Chron. (m) Marcell. l. 15. (n) Prosper. Miscell. l. 35.

A. D. cruel Parricide, which he endeavoured to conceal, in order to screen
 445. himself from the infamy of it. (o) Now, as he was at peace with
 the Emperour Theodosius, his warlike genius and ambition together set him upon forming new schemes for the increase of his conquests. Therefore he passed the Danube again, and in a short time, became so potent and dreadful both by force and policy, that
 446. he subdued the Marcomani, Quadi, Suevi, and most of the other nations, who inhabited those countries, situated between the Danube, the Elbe, and the Vestula, down to the Sea: So great was
 447. the name of Atila, and the fame of his conduct and forces, that it struck with terror even those very Barbarians who were dreadful to the rest of the world.

448. And indeed he possessed those qualities of body and mind which were able to create fear in a man of the greatest resolution. (p) It is true, he was low in stature according to the common size of the Huns; but every thing seemed terrible in his person; his shoulders were broad and his arms nervous; he had an extraordinary large head; his eyes were small and sparkling; he had a fierce look, and a flat nose; his complexion was very swarthy; he wore a long beard, which was but thin; his behaviour was proud and haughty, and he used constantly to cast round him such threatening looks, as terrified even those of great courage. Withal he had a genius, which was equally lively, subtil, and solid, full of art and dissimulation; he was wise and prudent in council, quick and bold in the execution, cruel to his enemies, but easily moved by the prayers of those who would submissively yield to him; and what is still more extraordinary amongst the Barbarians, he always religiously kept his faith to those whom he had once taken into his protection. Above all things he excelled in the art of war, which he practised, not as a Barbarian, after a furious manner, but like a great general with skill, performing much more with his head than with his arms. He had even found means to instil a superstitious notion into his soldiers, that he had something divine in him, to which his happiness was annexed. For whether or no he believed it, or that he only pretended to be convinced of it, he made them believe that he had found the cutlafs of Mars who was wor-

(o) Jorn. c. 35.

(p) Jorn. c. 25. Miscell. l. 15.

shipped amongst those people, and that the oracles had promised the Empire of the whole world to the person who should be master of that fatal sword. A. D. 448.

Being thus fortified by so many nations, who acknowledged him for their sovereign, and who at last were all esteemed as Huns, there offered two occasions wherein he had it in his power to satisfy the exorbitant ambition which he had to enlarge his dominions, and carry his arms into the Empire of the West. Honoria, Sister to the Emperour Valentinian having prostituted herself to the steward of the household, was shamefully expelled the palace by her brother's order, and afterwards obliged to retire to the court of Theodosius in the East. This made her conceive so strong a desire for revenge, that not being able to find any other way of satisfying her passion; she sent privately to Atila endeavouring to persuade him to undertake the conquest of Italy, which he might easily do at that time, by reason of the weakness of Valentinian, and the disorderly state of affairs in the Empire. As he was meditating on this great design, there happened a thing, which made him determine and resolve to put it in execution by some other means which he thought more secure.

Gisericus had married his Son Hunnericus to one of the daughters of Theodoricus king of the Visigoths; this young prince and his wife lived together perfectly satisfied with each other, and their marriage was attended on both sides with an intire affection, when on a sudden the false suspicions of Gisericus disturbed their peace, by a most horrid and barbarous action of this distrustful and cruel king. For, according to the custom of Tyrants, as he was continually in fear that some attempt or other was making against his life, he conceived a notion that his daughter-in-law had a mind to poison him, being tired of his long reign, and impatient to see herself with her husband soon on the throne: And hereupon, without enquiring any farther into the affair, his bare suspicion being sufficient to render this unhappy princess guilty, he most inhumanly caused her nose and ears to be cut off, and still to add a greater shame and affront to his cruelty, he brutishly sent her back to her father Theodoricus in this dismal condition. As he did not doubt but this prince, who was brave and powerful, would seek all possible means of being revenged for so horrible an affront, he
likewise

- A. D. likewise used all his art, in order to avoid his revenge, and prevent him from joining with the Romans to ruin him. He could not think on a better expedient than that of persuading Atila to declare war against the Visigoths, which he accordingly did, representing to him that, after he had once defeated them, he might with ease become master of Gaul, and Spain; that then Italy would fall into his hands of course. Whether Atila was prevailed upon by the solicitations of Gisericus, or that he was determined to make an irruption into the Empire, by the way of Gaul, as the other Barbarians had already so often done, he at last resolved to go on with this design; and after having mustered together all the soldiers that he could raise out of so many different nations, who were subjects to him, he marched thro' Germany, and passed the Rhine near Worms, and Mayence, (q) with a dreadful army of above five hundred thousand men, who carried destruction with them where-ever they went.

Nevertheless he would not intirely confide in his numbers; like a wise politician, he used art and subtilty to deceive both the Romans, and the Visigoths, and to prevent them from joining together against him. (r) For before he entered into Gaul, he sent Ambassadors to the Emperour Valentinian, with very polite and flattering letters, wherein he protested, "That as he was an Ally of the Romans, from the time that he had made peace with the Emperour Theodosius, he was resolved to live in perfect friendship with him, and entreated him to believe, that, if he came into Gaul with such innumerable forces, he had no other design, but that of driving out the Visigoths, who had usurped the greatest part of that country from the Romans, who should be masters of it again as soon as he had delivered them from the tyranny of so many strangers, who then held it in their possession." But at the same time he wrote in the like manner to the king of the Visigoths, against the Romans, intreating him to break off his alliance with them, in order to destroy with more ease those Tyrants of the world, and common enemies to mankind. Nevertheless this piece of policy did not succeed; for the Emperour, having acquainted Theodoricus with the deceitful behaviour of the

(q) Miscell. l. 25.

(r) Jorn. c. 36. Miscell. l. 25.

Barbarian;

Barbarian; this generous king wrote to him in answer: "That as A. D.
 " he despised the artifice of Atila, he neither feared his fame, nor 450.
 " his forces which were so dreadful to the rest of the world; that
 " he would join the Romans, in order to fight him, where-ever he
 " met him, and that he knew how to bring down the pride of pre-
 " sumptuous men, as also to conquer, and lay in irons, those who
 " thought themselves invincible."

In the mean while Atila, (s) after having passed the Rhine, destroyed all the cities, which he met in his way. He burned Metz, plundered Rheims, and laid waste the whole countrey, excepting Troyes, which he spared at the request of St. Loupus, who came to meet him in a very submissive manner, as being the scourge of GOD; and after having left behind him the horrible marks of the fury and cruelty of such an infinite number of Barbarians, that followed him, he marched up to Orleans which he besieged in order to secure to himself a passage on the river Loire, that he might safely enter the kingdom of Theodoricus. (t) He attacked the town very furiously, and battered the walls with all sorts of engines, and just as he was going to take it by main force, and the bravest of his soldiers were already entering at the breach, Aetius and Theodoricus, whom St. Aignan bishop of Orleans had been to solicit as far as Arles and Toulouse, being at the head of a powerful army of Romans and Visigoths, entered the town on that side which was next to the river, and obliged Atila to raise the siege, and retire back into the countrey, with the loss of part of his troops, who were defeated on the borders of the Loire in their retreat. (u) Aetius being highly satisfied with so successful a beginning, left Atila, who took to the right, in order to return to Troyes, and marched directly towards the Bourguignons, Belgi, Saxons, and other nations whom he had artfully, on this occasion, drawn into a league against Atila, but chiefly the French, who in those days, were beginning to lay strong foundations for their kingdom in Gaul.

For after having for many years fought sometimes for, and at other times against the Romans, under dukes, or particular com-

(s) Greg. Turon. l. 2. c. 6. (t) Greg. Turon. l. 2. Sidon. Apol. l. 8. Ep. 15.
 (u) Idat. Aedit. And. Scot. Idat. in Chron. Jorn. c. 36.

A D. manders, the bravest men of that nation, who lived on the borders of the river Iffel, anciently called Sala, from whence they took the name of Sali; joined with their neighbours the Sicambri, and chose for their king Pharamond, son of Marcomirus. This prince being resolved to establish a potent monarchy, (w) thought the first thing to be done, was to make good laws, which might be a steady foundation for it; and in order that the people should act unanimously, under a monarchical government, in a lawful and continued succession from male to male, according to the order of nature, it was decreed that the next male heir to the royal family, should succeed to the throne without depending on the capriciousness or will of the people, by which means it would, in a manner, become perpetual. (x) His son Clodion, who succeeded him in right of this law, having reunited in one monarchy the greatest part of those people, who were called Francones, and inhabited that countrey, which lies between the Rhine and the Elbe, as far as the Meyn, passed into Gaul and conquered most of those countries which are situated between the Sceld, and the Somme; but being surprised and defeated by Aetius, he was forced to repass the Rhine, and soon after he died just as he was going to invade Gaul a second time with a greater number of forces. (y) Merovee, who was related to him, succeeded him; and, pursuing the scheme of his predecessor with as much resolution, tho' with more conduct and good fortune, he was beginning to make a new conquest of those countries which had just been taken from him on this side of the Rhine, when the terror he was in at the approach of Atila, obliged him to join with the Romans, and those other nations who were in league together, against this common enemy.

When all these confederate forces were united, (z) it appeared that Aetius (to whom the command was given by a general consent) had almost as numerous an army as that of Atila. Therefore, without farther deliberation, they marched up directly to him in those vast and large plains, (a) called the Catalaunick, or Mauriack fields, which lie between the rivers Aisne and Marne,

(w) Prosper. Pyth. (x) Prosper. Pyth. (y) Greg. Turon. l. 1. c. 9.
(z) Jornand. (a) Greg. Tur. l. 9. c. 7. Jorn. c. 36.

near Chalons, where is seen the small river of Moivre, which gave the name to that famous Mauriack plain, so renowned in history for the battle which was fought in it. This place Atila had pitched upon, where he might draw up his horse in order of battle, which, (as it was the custom among the Huns always to fight on horse-back) composed the greatest part of his army. (b) Some of our modern writers have tried in vain to persuade us, upon very weak evidence, that these famous fields were those of Sologne; and others that they were situated near Cataleins in Languedoc, not far from Castel-saran, and within seven or eight leagues of Toulouse. For, besides all the circumstances of history, which the ancient writers have agreed on, and which are intirely contrary to the opinion of late historians, Idatius, bishop of Lemica in Galicia, who lived in those days, saith positively that the plains, (c) where the Romans fought Atila, were not far distant from Metz which that Barbarian had plundered. And certainly there is no likelihood that so exact a writer, as Idatius was in his chronicles, should be mistaken in quoting a place, where the greatest and most memorable battle that ever was heard of, was fought in his time. And I cannot believe that any judicious person would sooner give credit to men, who only speak by conjecture and relate a thing at random which happened above twelve hundred years before their time. Now these two dreadful armies, which together consisted of near a million of men, (d) (a number scarce ever heard of before) met each other in these vast plains, which lie between Chalons in Champagne, and St. Menehoud, and were preparing on both sides for an engagement. Their first attack began with smart skirmishes, where there was a good deal of blood shed, particularly between the French, and the Gepidi, (e) whereof two considerable parties, having met each other in the night, fought in the dark, with so much eagerness, that not seeing what they were doing, and being no longer able to avoid the blows which were given on both sides, there was such an universal slaughter, that there was scarce a man of them left alive upon the place.

(b) Blondus. Joan. Magn. Marianæ. Bertrandi. Nauquiez.
(d) Jornand. Paul. Diac. in Miscell. l. 15. Idat. Marcell.
Get.

(c) Idat. in Chron.
(e) Jornand. in reb.

A. D. 451. Atila who feared the event of this battle, his adversaries being men of such great courage, consulted the demons by his diviners, who after having performed their detestable sacrifice, told him that the issue of it would not prove favourable to his army, but that the general of the enemies should lose his life in it. The second part of this fatal prediction made some amends for what was so disagreeable in the first; and he did not doubt but this answer, which he looked on as an oracle, promised him the death of Aetius; after which, believing that nothing could be able to resist him, he was of opinion that he could not purchase the loss of so great a man at too dear a rate, were it even at the expence of a battle. But in order to mitigate this misfortune as much as possible, he resolved not to give battle till late on the next day, to the end that, night coming on during the fight, his enemies might not compleat the victory, but give him an opportunity to retire into his camp, which he caused to be fortified for this purpose, by which means his troops, if defeated, might find no difficulty to make their escape in the dark. Therefore on the next day he accordingly marched out of his camp, affecting in the presence of his soldiers greater hopes of success than he really had; and the confederates on their side, who were in expectation of a battle, were likewise preparing themselves to receive him. (f) But the day was already so far spent, that two such numerous armies could not be drawn up in order of battle and ready for the charge all about three of the clock in the afternoon.

The army of Atila was divided into three bodies which he drew up, having room to extend them as far as he pleased in those wide plains. The first, which composed the right wing, was commanded by Valamirus, king of the Ostrogoths, with his two brothers, who were supported by some of the German nations, which increased the army of the Huns. He was a wise and brave prince, discreet, courteous, and obliging, sincere in his proceedings, having nothing exceptionable in him, but Arianism, which he professed in compliance to his nation, tho' at the same time he did not seem very zealous in the interest of it. The second body, which made the left wing, was composed of the Gepidi, (who were like-

(f) Miscell. lib. 15.

wife Arians), and of some other foreign nations, amongst whom were even a few Bourignons, and French, who still inhabited those territories situated on the outside the Rhine. (g) This body was commanded by Ardaricus king of the Gepidi, (h) who, besides his courage which was as great as possible, was moreover so faithful and generous, and particularly so skilful in military affairs, that Atila, notwithstanding his own ability and great experience, scarcely undertook any thing without his advice. The third part of his army, which was larger than the two others, was chiefly composed of natural Huns, and placed in the center; where Atila, attended by the bravest and most resolute men of his nation, gave out his orders with so much dignity and majesty to those kings, who fought under his standards, that they all were awed by his presence, and punctually obeyed him, upon the least intimation of his pleasure.

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Aetius, on the other hand, followed the same order, and according to the discipline of the Romans, divided the army of the confederates into three bodies. He gave the command of the right wing to Theodoricus, king of the Visigoths, attended by Torismond, and Theodoricus, his two eldest sons, who headed a prodigious number of his subjects that inhabited those countries on this, and on the other side of the Pyrenees. Aetius himself, at the head of the left wing, commanded the Roman horse, in order to fight jointly with Merovee, who headed the French, having often experienced their courage, and knowing how invincible they were, when they fought in an open country, where they were in no danger of being surpris'd thro' their own carelessness. And as he suspected the fidelity of Sangiban who commanded the Alani, and had already been accused of having held intelligence with Atila, even at the time when he was besieging Orleans, he placed him in the center of the line, surrounded by the Roman legions, and other auxiliary troops; so that he could neither betray him, nor fly, without being expos'd to certain destruction, by which means he was compelled to fight, and behaved with more courage and fidelity than he was thought capable of doing.

(g) Sidon. Apol. carm. 7.

(h) Jornand.

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The armies, being thus disposed, stood some time in the presence of each other, before they came to a general attack, because they were endeavouring on each side to take possession of a rising ground, which lay in the field of battle, and would be of a great advantage to those who could get possession of it. Atila sent a detachment of men, who were esteemed the most desperate amongst his Huns, to seize on that spot of ground; but they were prevented by Aetius, and Torismond, who having set out at the same time from the two wings of their army, took possession of it first, and stood their ground with so much resolution, that they repulsed the enemy, who after having made vigorous efforts to gain that post, were forced at last to retire to the main body of the Army, with the loss of their men, and their honour. Atila, seeing that his people seemed under some concern at so unsuccessful a beginning, made several signs to them with his eyes, and gestures, in order to encourage them: For it was impossible for him to make himself be heard by such an innumerable army. And at last, drawing his sword, he shewed it to his troops, expressing an haughty but cheerful air, and at the same time, looking at the enemy with a disdainful smile, which was to intimate that he was secure of the victory, he ordered his men to charge, and, by this bold action, inspired them with so much courage, that with a dreadful shout; which was heard from all the parts of the army, his soldiers marched up directly for the engagement, and shot off such a prodigious number of darts and arrows, that they almost darkened the air. Aetius, who appeared at the head of his troops on the rising ground, which he had made himself master of, convinced his army that the advantage, which he had gained in the first attack, and the situation of the place, promised him the victory; so he received the enemies, with a courage worthy of ancient Rome, and of the honour, which he had acquired by his former glorious actions. The French, who fought under his command, following so great an example, fell upon the Ostrogoths, who were at their head; the Roman legions, with the Alani in their center, charged the main body of Huns; and the Visigoths, who faced the Gepidi, who were of their nation, and professed the same faith, attacked with the more resolution, because they served their common enemies, even against their own brethren.

There

There never was seen a battle more obstinate and bloody than this was. They could no longer make use of their arrows at a distance, but were now all engaged close together, fighting with their swords in a most furious manner; and the combatants crowded in so fast and in such great numbers that they were not able to avoid the blows of each other. The foremost ranks were pressed so hard by those behind them, that they were forced upon the arms of their very enemies, who being treated in the same manner, by their own people, were under the necessity of losing their own lives at the same time that they were killing their enemies. The whole army now closely engaged, and all the different troops were mixed confusedly with each other, without either order, or distinction; being forced, in spite of their endeavours, to yield to that raging storm, which drove them backwards and forwards, according to the furious motions of this desperate and dreadful multitude of combatants. Whilst all was thus in disorder, Theodoricus, king of the Visigoths, who, notwithstanding his old age, fought with all the courage and resolution of a young hero, fell from his horse, by a wound which he received from Andages, one of the generals of the Ostrogoths, and was crushed to pieces by his own people, who, pursuing the heat of the battle, amongst the crowd, trampled him under their feet without knowing him, and immediately rushed on upon Atila himself, who was still endeavouring to support the fight thro' his own courage, tho' at the same time all his hopes were lost.

But when he perceived that his army began to lose ground; that the Romans were making a most horrible slaughter of his troops; and that he himself was so vigorously pursued by the Visigoths, that he was in danger of being either taken, or killed, he thought it high time to provide for his own safety. Therefore the night coming on very fortunately for him, he took that opportunity, in order to favour his retreat, and avoid the shame of his overthrow; so retired into his camp which he had fortified and surrounded with a prodigious number of those chariots which attended his army; his people followed him without much difficulty, the night being so dark that the victorious confederate forces could not pursue them, nor even be sensible of their advantage. For indeed, as they had fought a long while after the night was come on, and could

A. D. 451. could not see to distinguish their troops, Aetius, attended by a small number of soldiers, found himself in the midst of a body of the enemies whom he took for his own people; they likewise thought that he was one of them, and it was a meer chance that he did not meet with the same fortune which befel Torismond, who, not knowing where he was going, rushed into the intrenchments of the Huns. This prince perceived his error, by the blows which he immediately received from those who knew him to be an enemy; but he defended himself with so much courage, tho', at the same time, he was fallen from his horse, and wounded in the head, that he gave his Visigoths time to save him from the danger he was in, and bring him back to the camp, whither Aetius was at last repaired, after having wandered a long while amongst the enemies, not knowing precisely whether he had been defeated, or whether he had got the victory.

He passed the remaining part of that night in this uncertainty; and therefore rallied all his forces and fortified his camp fearing lest he should be surprised. But having marched out in order of battle on the next morning by break of day, he saw the field covered with dead bodies, and a rivulet, which divided the camp, dy'd and over-flowing with blood, (for it is said that, on this terrible day there perished about three hundred thousand men of both sides.) And besides, seeing that his army was yet very numerous, and that the loss he had sustained was much inferior to that of Atila, who dared not to march out of his intrenchments, he then concluded that he had gained the victory; and after having remained sometime in the field of battle, in order to assume those honours which are due to a conqueror, he marched up directly to Atila's camp, with a design to compleat his defeat, if he should be so bold as to appear, or to compel him to own the loss of the victory, by his not daring to meet him. But Atila, who was master of as much prudence, as courage, acted contrary to the notions of Aetius in doing neither the one, nor the other. He would not come out of his camp, because the loss of his best troops made it dangerous for him to try his fortune a second time in open field. But, far from shewing the least signs of fear, he never behaved with more resolution. He mounted all his chariots with archers, who, being thus intrenched and covered, were continually shooting
ing

ing off arrows, which rendered the approaches of the confederates very difficult. His camp resounded with trumpets and other musical instruments of war, as if he were making a triumph after victory; and being resolved to die rather than suffer that his enemies should have the advantage either of taking him prisoner, or killing him, he caused a great pile to be made of all the saddles in his army, which he proposed to set on fire and fling himself into it as soon as he found that there were no hopes left, and that he could no longer prevent his camp from being forced by the Romans.

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Nevertheless it was not these weak intrenchments of carrs and chariots, nor the resistance or desperate behaviour of Atila, that could have protected his whole army from being totally defeated, had not the policy or ambition of Aetius contributed to his assistance, and relieved him from the extremity to which he was then reduced. For, whether it was his design to carry on the war, in order to preserve to himself the command of the forces, or that he feared (as he gave it out) that after the defeat of the Huns, the French, Goths, and Bourignons should turn their arms against him, to oblige the Romans to abandon Gaul, or whether, I say, he was induced by both these motives, *viz.* the interest of his own fortune, and that of the Empire, I know not: But he changed his first resolution, and finding that Torismond, in order to revenge the death of his father, was resolved to attack Atila, or destroy him in his camp, by the want of provisions, he artfully diverted the blow, by persuading this young prince, who was not so great a politician as himself, to take possession, with all the expedition imaginable, of the kingdom of the Visigoths, least his four brothers, whom he had left behind him at Toulouse, should join together, in order to invade and share it amongst themselves. (i) After which he withdrew with the French and Bourignons, who marched off separated, and returned into their own country, leaving Atila at liberty to make his escape and reinforce his army; which he did soon after, and came into Italy with a most powerful body of men, where, after having taken and utterly destroyed

452.

(i) Idat. Cassiod. Chr. Miscell. lib. 5. Blond. l. 1. dec. 3. Sabell. Enn. 8. l. 1. Sig. de Occid. Imp. lib. 13.

A. D. the famous city of Aquilea, he caused such horrible devastations
 452. throughout the whole country of the Venetians, between the Alps, the Po, and the Adriatick Sea, that those nations, but particularly the inhabitants of Padoua, in order to avoid the fury of the Huns, were forced to retire into the Islands which are situated at the mouth of the Gulph.

It was on this occasion that they resolved to shelter themselves from this prodigious inundation of Barbarians, by laying the foundations of the wonderful city of Venice, which is the metropolis of that august republick, whom GOD, thro' his singular goodness, which ever can bring forth good from evil, proposed himself to establish during these calamities, in order soon to restore again the wisdom, power, and virtue of ancient Rome, at the same time that his justice was going to destroy the Roman Empire in the West. And certainly its ruin was even then inevitable, had not GOD suspended his judgment sometime longer, in order to manifest the merit and glory of great St. Leo, (*k*) who was so deserving of the seat of St. Peter which at that time he possessed. For Attila, after having destroyed Milan, Pavia and the rest of the cities of Insurbria, (*l*) which he attacked without resistance, was resolved to carry his arms even to Rome, where the affairs were then in so great a disorder, thro' the neglect and weakness of the government, that he might have taken possession of that city without much difficulty, had not this holy bishop, at the request of Valentinian, undertaken to mitigate the fury of this Barbarian, which he completed under GOD's protection in a most extraordinary and miraculous manner, as it ever has been related. (*m*) For having repaired to the camp of Attila, who had already passed the Po in the Mantuan country, and was marching towards Rome, this prelate addressed him with so much power and majesty, in order to dissuade him from the execution of his design, that whether he was influenced by his discourse, or whether he saw (as it was reported) or imagined that something extraordinary appeared to him, which disarmed him, it is certain that Attila complied with whatever he

(*k*) Cassiod. Miscell. (*l*) The country called Milanese. (*m*) Cassiod. in Chr. Paul. Diac. in Miscell. l. 15. A. G. St. Leo.

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required of him, (n) and returned immediately into Pannonia, even beyond the Danube. *A. D.*

452.

But as Atila was a man who never could bear to be at rest, and thought he had been deceived by Sangiban king of the Alani, who in the foregoing year had promised to deliver up Orleans to him, he returned into Gaul, in order to drive him out of those provinces, which are situated on the other side of the Loire, where he had not long before established his kingdom. (o) But Torismond, who came to his assistance, engaged this bold enemy a second time, and fought him with so much conduct, and good fortune, that, after having defeated him, as he had already done in the preceeding year, in the catalaunick plains, (p) he compelled him to return shamefully into Pannonia, where he became passionately in love with a very beautiful young lady, whom he married; and it is said that he drank so much at his nuptial feast, that he died on that very night, his blood gushing out at his mouth, eyes, nose and ears; tho' it is reported by some writers that his new bride, who did not love him, seeing him drunk and a sleep, (q) resembling Holofernes, killed him with the stab of a dagger.

453.

Yet notwithstanding, neither the brave Torismond, nor the valiant Aetius, who had conquered this Tyrant, enjoyed long after the fruits of their victory. Torismond who fell ill at Toulouse was unfortunately murdered by his two brothers, Theodoricus, and Fredericus, (r) who took an opportunity of executing this wicked design whilst a surgeon was bleeding him. His courage nevertheless did not forsake him on this occasion: For not finding his arms, which the traitors had hidden on purpose, he took up a stool that was near his bed, and using it both as a sword and shield, he contended for his life a long while, till at last, having received several wounds, he fell dead upon the bodies of four or five of his murderers, whom he had killed to revenge his death, and thus he died like a man of resolution. Aetius met with as cruel a fate: For Valentinian, who since the death of Placidia led a very disorderly life, having forced away the wife of Maximus, a Roman senator, the latter resolved to be securely revenged: And to this end, by

(n) Miscell. ib.
Eutrop.

(q) Cassiod.

(o) Iornand. de reb. Get.

(r) Idat. Iornand. de reb. Get.

(p) Paul. Diac. in append.

A. D. his false insinuations he made the Emperour so jealous of Aetius, 454. that this weak and violent prince, (*s*) having sent for him into his closet, under the pretence of treating with him upon some affair of moment, he with his own hands shamefully and barbarously murdered him; and by this fatal action destroyed the only support of his Empire, which like an old wall, whose foundation is undermined, soon after fell to the ground.

455. For indeed, at the very beginning of the ensuing year, (*t*) which we may properly stile the year of the destruction of the Empire, Valentinian the third was killed in the thirty sixth year of his age, on the seventeenth of March by some of Aetius's guards, whom Maximus had bribed, under the pretence of revenging the death of their master. After which he himself was proclaimed Emperour without much difficulty, having secured a strong party in his interest; and his first wife dying with grief soon after the affront which had been offered her by Valentinian, who had ravished her, he importuned Euxodia the Emperour's widow in so urgent a manner, that he persuaded her to marry him. (*u*) But Maximus was so misled by his passion, that he indiscreetly told the Empress, the night of his nuptials, that it was neither the desire of revenge, nor ambition, but the love only which he bore to her person, that had prompted him to find means to ascend the throne, by the death of Valentinian, whom he had caused to be murdered, in order to make himself happy in the possession of that princess. Euxodia, who had an aversion to this Tyrant, because he had forced her to marry him, conceived such a furious hatred to him, at this barbarous confession, that she resolved in herself either to perish, or be revenged, and would sooner be buried under the ruins, even of Rome and the Empire itself, than be disappointed in her design: So great is the anger of women, when justly provoked, that it supplies them with strength to support the natural weakness of the sex.

Upon this resolution, (*x*) she on the next day sent one of her confidants to Carthage with letters to Gisericus king of the Vandals, intreating him, by all the considerations of his own interest and glory, as well as the success of the enterprise, and his alliance

(*s*) Idat. Cassiod. Marcell. Misc. 15. Procop. de bell. Vand. l. 1. (*t*) Cassiod. Marcell. Procop. Anonym. Cuspin. (*u*) Misc. l. 7. (*x*) Idat. in Chron.

with the Emperor, who had been inhumanly murdered, to come immediately in order to revenge his death, against Maximus, and relieve her from the insupportable captivity which she endured under the power of that cruel tyrant. Gisericus readily embraced so favourable an opportunity of satisfying his insatiable avarice with the spoils and plunder of the most rich and potent city in the universe; and, as he always maintained a powerful fleet, with which, though it was a time of peace, like a pirate he ransack'd all the Islands which are situated between Africa, and Italy. He soon was in a condition to put out to sea, which he accordingly did, attended by the Vandals, and a body of Africans, (y) and in a few days came up to the port of Rome, where he landed without any opposition. At the news of his arrival, most of the persons of distinction withdrew from that city, leaving it without defence. Even Maximus himself, finding that his friends had forsaken him, was endeavouring to make his escape; but before he could get off, he was seized by the people, and even by his own guards, who tore him to pieces, and flung him into the tyber on the twelfth of June. Hereupon Gisericus entered Rome as freely as he might have done Carthage, finding no body in his way, nor at the gates, that would oppose his entering the city. The holy bishop St. Leo was the only person that went out to meet him; and, tho' he addressed him with the same powerful arguments, which he had used when he met Atila, nevertheless he was not so successful; for the only thing which he could obtain of him was, that he would be contented with the plunder of the city, without employing either fire, or sword against a people, who would not resist him.

Thus Rome, which had so often despised the warnings and judgments of GOD, became a second time a prey to the Arians, (z) who plundered the city at leisure for the space of fourteen days, and spared only the three principal Basilica's; viz. that of Constantine, and those of St. Peter, and St. Paul. "So Giserius, after having loaded his ships with the richest spoils of Rome, and a pro-

(y) Sidon. in Paneg. Avit. Imp. Procop. l. 1. Miscell. lib. 15. Evag. l. 1. cap. 7. Anonym. Cuspin. Miscell. l. 15. (z) St. Leo Ser. in Oct. Apost. Ild. in Hist. Vandal.

A. D. 455. "digious number of captives, for whom he expected considerable ransoms, he returned well satisfied to Carthage, carrying along with him the Empress Euxodia, (a) and her two daughters Euxodia, and Placidia, who were granddaughters to the illustrious Euxodia, widow to the Emperor Theodosius, who received this news at Jerusalem, where she was retired in order there to pass the remainder of her days in the practice of piety. (b) She was deeply afflicted at this calamity, which GOD, through his mercy, was pleased to make use of in order to convert her from the Eutychean heresy, which she still adhered to, notwithstanding the decisions of the council of Calcedonia, which was held four years before. For, after having consulted the wonderful Simon Stylitus, who referred her to the holy solitary Euthymius, that led a most celestial life in Palestine; this great man told her, that GOD had afflicted her after this grievous manner, in what she loved above all the things of this world, only to save her from the abyss of darkness, which she was unluckily fallen into, by following the steps of a blind guide, the false bishop Theodosius, who had seduced her; that as she had abhorred Arianism after the holy Nicene council, and detested the impieties of Macedonius, after he had been condemned by the council of Constantinople, that as she had also renounced the blasphemies of Nestorius by acknowledging the decisions of that of Ephesus, it was likewise necessary that she should receive with a perfect resignation the holy decrees of the council of Calcedonia, against the errors of Eutyches. Hereupon she immediately submitted to the exhortations of this holy man, or rather to the voice of GOD, who made his will known to her afflicted mind, by his words, and at her return to Jerusalem, she went directly to the Patriarch Juvenal, who assisted her in making a publick reconciliation to the Catholick Church, with the applause of the whole city. Her conversion brought over a great number of Lay-men, Monks and learned Clergy-men, of the Eutychean opinion, on whom she had a great influence, and who followed her example. And indeed it was plainly seen on this occasion, what power a lady of understanding, merit, and virtue, (such was the learned Euxodia)

(a) Idat. Miscell. in Chron.
20. Jan.

(b) Cyrill. Monach. in vita St. Euthym. Sur-

had over the minds, even of the greatest men, to incline them either to good, or evil, just as her inclination dictated. This conversion was chiefly the work which God had designed to effect by the captivity of these princesses: For afterwards, he changed the heart of Gisericus in such a manner, with regard to them, that he intirely forgot the tyrannical notions which he had maintained till then, (c) and behaved towards them with all the respect and politeness that was due to their imperial rank. (d) He even made the proposal himself for marrying his Son Hunnericus to the eldest of the two princesses; and as he was informed that the youngest was betrothed to Olibrius, (e) who was the most considerable person amongst the senators of Rome, and had made his escape to Constantinople, he was so generous as to send her to him with a retinue worthy of her illustrious birth, together with her mother Euxodia, who was daughter to Theodosius the younger. This Emperor was succeeded by Marcian, who received her with all the marks of honour imaginable.

In the mean while it was a most lamentable thing to see the multitude of captives, whom Gisericus had brought over with him from Rome to Carthage. For the Vandals, and Africans, to whom that barbarian king had given them up, for their share of the booty, divided those wretched people amongst themselves, parting the fathers and mothers from their children, and the husbands from their wives, in order to sell them the more readily to those who came from all parts of Africa to buy them; (f) so that being out of all hopes of ever meeting again, they filled the air with their lamentable cries for their deplorable condition. The holy bishop *Deogratias*, whom Giserius, at the request of Valentinian, had permitted to be continued as pastor to the Catholics, could not bear to see the calamities which they endured; and fearing lest these unhappy captives, by losing their liberty in this cruel manner, might also more unfortunately lose their faith, through the barbarity of their Arian masters, he used his utmost endeavours to deliver them out of their hands; and after having collected what money he could amongst the Catholics, he sold all the gold and silver

(c) Theoph. Procop. (d) Evag. l. 1. c. 7. (e) Niceph l. 15. c. 11.
 (f) Viâ. Utic. de perfec. Vandal. l. 1.

A. D. vessels which belonged to the Churches, and were saved at the taking and plundering of Carthage; and by these means he at last compleated his generous design, having raised a sum of money sufficient to redeem them.

But his charity did not end here. After having made them free, he resolved likewise to put them in a condition of enjoying the freedom which he had procured them. Therefore as a great many of them were sick by means of the barbarous usage which they had received during their captivity, on board the ships, (being reduced to the extremity of wanting all manner of necessaries) and because they were so numerous that he knew not where to provide them with lodgings, he turned two of his greatest Churches into hospitals. There he caused fresh straw to be laid for those who were in better health, and ordered several rows of beds to be set up for the sick; after which he visited them day and night attended by those who belonged to him, and caused food to be distributed to them, in his presence, with such proper remedies as were prescribed by the physicians. Thus inspired with zeal and charity, his body and mind were continually employed; and, tho' at that time he was far advanced in years, he behaved with the vigour of a young man, and was so constant in this holy and laborious exercise that he scarcely allowed himself any rest. So that God, pouring down a blessing on his toils, he redeemed these poor wretches both from captivity, and death; and which was still more, from the danger of falling into heresy. This highly provoked the Arian ministers, who could not bear that a Catholick bishop should presume, in a city where they were masters, to deprive them of a prey, which they had already devoured in their hearts. Therefore they resolved to make a way with him; and it is very probable, (as they took the liberty to commit all manner of crimes with impunity) that they would soon have executed their horrible design, had not God prevented them by taking to himself this holy man whose heroick charity he crowned in heaven with everlasting glory.

The news of his death was a great affliction to the Catholicks, who were desirous of preserving some remains of him, in order to pay that reverence to him after his loss, which they used to do when present. And it was feared lest the people should tear his
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body to pieces to secure his relicks; for which reason those, who had undertaken his funeral service, buried him privately the night before the time appointed for that purpose. So that both the Catholics and Arians were deceived in a different manner; the former, because they could not pay the honour to him which they intended after his death; and the latter, because they were prevented by his death from casting all their rage and fury upon his person. But they soon gratified their revenge, with the base treatment which they offered to the holy bishop Thomas, who had consecrated *Deogratias* three years before at Carthage. This good old man, in the midst of the insults, which he received from these impious people, who took delight in scourging him in publick as they would have done a boy, without any regard to his venerable years, returned praises unto JESUS CHRIST for being pleased that he should partake of the glory of his triumph, by his ignominious sufferings.

A. D.
455.

But on the other hand, as soon as Theodoricus, king of the Visigoths was informed at Toulouse of the death of Maximus, and the invasion of Rome, (g) he fearing lest the Vandals, who were his enemies, should also take possession of the Empire, he immediately prevailed on the Roman army, that was then in Gaul, to proclaim Avitus Emperour, whom Maximus not long before had made general of those forces, and sent Ambassador to Theodoricus. (b) This was performed on the second day of July; and the Romans and Visigoths having renewed their alliance, Theodoricus, by the advice and assistance of Avitus, marched into Spain with a powerful body of men, in order to attack Richiarius king of the Suevi, who, not being satisfied with the kingdom of Galicia, where he reigned, was resolved also to make himself master of all Spain, and had insolently threatned Theodoricus to drive him out of his possessions in Gaul, if he should dare even to complain of him. (i) But his pride soon ended with his life and fortune; for upon a Friday, the fifth of October in the same year 456. (k) The two armies having met, near the little river Urbicus, within a few miles

456.

(g) Siden. in Panog. Avit. Cassiod. Anon. Cuspin. Idat. in Chron. (b) Jornand. de reb. Get. (i) Idat. Jorn. Isid. Chron. (k) Obregario. Astorga in the Kingdom of Leon.

A. D. of Asturica, which was a colony of Augustus, they came to a general battle, wherein Richiarius was totally defeated, with a prodigious slaughter of his people, and he himself, who was covered with wounds, made his escape with much difficulty; so that he now began to lose all hopes of keeping his kingdom, (*l*) and therefore put out to Sea: But being forced by stormy weather to land again at the mouth of the river Durius, (*m*) he was taken and carried to Theodoricus, who caused him to be put to death in his confinement. After this victory, the whole kingdom surrendered themselves to the conquerour, who on the twenty eighth day of October, having taken Braga, (*n*) one of the chief cities of the Suevi, he gave it up to be plundered. As the native inhabitants of that country were Catholicks, having lived so long under the government of the Romans, there was no profane action, with respect to sacred things, which those Visigoths did not commit in that wretched place, to shew their hatred to the Roman religion. They seized on all the Churches, pulled down the altars, and carried away the sacred vessels; the Virgins and Nuns themselves did not escape their fury; for tho' they did not make any attempt on their honour, nevertheless they took them into captivity with a vast number of persons of all conditions. They stripped the Clergy and exposed them naked by way of diversion, and these impious Arians, after having glutted their avarice with all the treasures they could find in the temples, in order to crown their sacrilegious wickedness, they converted them into stables.

But GOD would not permit them to ravage thus in all places. Theodoricus, who was resolved to carry his conquests farther, was marched into old Lusitania, which then contained more territories belonging to Spain than what we now call Portugal, and he proposed to exercise his barbarity in the same manner upon Merida, which was a very famous and powerful city in those days, (*o*) situated on the river Guadiana, and is now in the province of Estramadura. But the illustrious virgin and martyr St. Eulalia, who was the protectrix of that city, terrified him in so strange a manner by visions, and other prodigies, which threatned him with his

(*l*) Marian. 5. c. 4.
Braga in Portugal Idat.

(*m*) Duero in Portugal.

(*n*) Bracara. Augusta.
(*o*) Augusta. Emerita. Anas fluv. Idat.

ruin, that he would not venture to attempt his design of carrying his arms farther. Therefore after having given proper orders for the government of the provinces which he had conquered, he returned into Gaul where his presence was required upon the account of the change which happened at that time in the affairs of the Empire.

For whilst Theodoricus was thus running over Spain with his victorious arms, (p) the Emperour Avitus, who, on the other hand, was no great warrior, not being assisted by his friends the Visigoths, was forced to quit the Empire, because the Romans had conceived an aversion to him, either out of contempt to his person, (q) or because he led a most licentious life from the time that he was made Emperour. (r) And, in order to secure his life, he even agreed to enter into holy orders, and was consecrated bishop of Placentia, where his own people had seized on him. And notwithstanding this piece of policy, it was not possible for him to escape death. For, being informed that the senate was resolved to destroy him, in order to prevent a civil war, he died with despair, (tho' some people say, of the plague) whilst he was on his journey to Auvergne, which was his own country, where he proposed to retire. (s) Within a few months after his death, Majorianus, who was both a brave soldier, and a great politician, and then General of the Roman forces, was proclaimed Emperour, with the title of Augustus, at Ravenna, on the first day of April, with the approbation of the senate, the people, and militia; but particularly with the consent of the Emperour Leo, who had just succeeded Martian that died at Constantinople in the beginning of this year 457.

These disorders and changes in the Empire gave an opportunity to the Visigoths, and Vandals, to encrease their power. (t) For Gisericus immediately after the death of Valentinian, and the ransack of Rome, seized on every thing belonging to the Romans in Africa, and sent his naval forces to the coasts of Italy, which

(p) Idat. Miscell. (q) Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 1. (r) Miscell. Greg. Anonym. Cuspin. Greg. Turon. Evag. l. 2. c. 7. (s) Anon. Cusp. Novell. Major. tit. 3. ad Senat. Marcell. Sidor. Apollin. Paul. Diac. in Miscell. Idat. Marcell. (t) Victor de persec. Vandal. l. 1.

A. D. they invaded and laid waste, with the other provinces of the Empire, and in order to secure what belonged to himself in Africa, he caused all the fortified places to be demolished, excepting Carthage, (*u*) which in the end, proved to be the chief cause of the ruin of the Vandals. Thus human wisdom, which acts with so much caution in present things, where a trifling interest is concerned, cannot foresee those evils which it is treasuring up to its self in time to come. But what was now more deplorable, this Barbarian, who was no longer tyed by any consideration of the peace which he had formerly made with Valentinian, renewed his persecution against the Church in a more cruel manner than before. (*x*) For he not only forbade the election of a new bishop at Carthage, but even expelled all the priests from that city, as also throughout all Africa, where the Catholick bishops, before they were banished, underwent great sufferings, thro' the ill treatment which they received from the officers of that inhuman king, who would force them to deliver up their books of the holy scriptures, and whatever they had that was valuable and sacred in their Churches. They even carried things to such an excess of barbarity, that the holy bishop Valerian, who was a venerable old man of above eighty years of age, having stedfastly refused to deliver up what they required of him (which he looked upon as throwing pearl before swine) Gisericus caused him to be driven out of the city, forbidding all persons whatsoever to entertain him in their houses or even in the fields: So that he was reduced to the necessity of lying in the common roads, exposed to all the injuries of the weather, which soon compleated his martyrdom, by putting an end to that small share of life which he had left. (*y*) God, on the other hand, was pleased to manifest his justice and vengeance on the ministers and executioners of the impiety of Gisericus. For Proculus, who was one of the most cruel and insolent amongst them, having taken away by force the ornaments of the sacred altars which the priests had refused to deliver unto him, and having converted them into a garment for himself, turning into ridicule all the holy mysteries, he was suddenly struck in such a dreadful

(*u*) Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. 1. cembro.

(*x*) Victor. de Persecut.

(*y*) 15. De-

manner by the hand of GOD, that he became furious and raging against himself, and perished by a most horrid kind of death, tearing his flesh to pieces, and eating his own tongue. A. D. 457.

But neither these warnings from heaven, nor the prayers and remonstrances of men, nor the book, which victor, bishop of Carthenna in Mauritania, (z) had resolution enough to present to Gifericus in defence of the faith against the Arians; neither of these things, I say, could prevent this Tyrant from carrying on the persecution with more cruelty, and from making a vast number of martyrs, whom the Church continues to commemorate every year. The generous virgin Maxima, shewed her invincible courage in a most wonderful manner on this occasion. She was in the service of a noble Vandal, who had also a young man belonging to him, whose name was Martinian, and who was very much in the favour of his master, because he was a great artist in making arms. This Vandal lord, in order to engage the youth more strongly in his service, having given this holy virgin to him, whom he loved, for a wife, she not only persuaded Martinian to turn to the Catholick faith, but also to live in chastity, as she did herself, keeping her virginity, and to retire into a monastery, in order to devote himself to the service of GOD, with his three brothers, who were slaves with him at the same time. She on her side did the same, retiring into a monastery of women, which was not very distant from that of Martinian, but situated in a wilderness where they thought that no body would ever come to enquire after them. But they were at last discovered; and the Barbarian, their master, having forced them away, and flung them into a prison, inflicted all manner of punishments on them, in order to compel them, not only to live together as man and wife, but likewise to renounce the Catholick faith, and receive the baptism of the Arians. As they continued stedfast and inflexible in their pious resolution. Gifericus having had notice of it, he commanded their unmerciful master to repeat his cruelty, and not to cease tormenting them, till they obeyed him. This Barbarian readily complied with this inhuman order; and caused them to be unmercifully torn to pieces (with the blows of sticks, which were notched like a saw) in such

(z) Gennad. de Script. Eccl. c. 77.

A. D. 457. a manner that their intrails were seen thro' their ribs, which were head, and had no flesh left upon them. This way of torturing them, was daily repeated by his command; because that God by his omnipotence, in order to confound the cruelty of the Arians, used to heal these holy martyrs so perfectly, that there did not appear on their bodies any marks of their wounds.

At last, God, in order to punish this obstinate Barbarian, having destroyed him, and almost his whole family, Gisericus was ashamed to contend any longer with the invincible Maxima, and therefore set her at liberty, and sent the four brothers farther into the country, to the dominions of one of those little Moorish princes who were Gentiles. But the king, being informed that they had converted a great number of those people, he caused them to be fastened to chariots, which were drawn by wild horses, who, being let loose, ran full speed over thorns and hedges, and so put an end to the lives of these glorious martyrs, whose blessed bodies were in this manner torn to pieces. (a) The Church pays honour to their memory on the sixteenth day of October, as also to that of the illustrious Maxima, with two hundred and seventy other martyrs, who received the like crown of glory in the same cause.

The persecution grew very warm, chiefly at court, where Gisericus, influenced by the Arian bishops in particular, would not suffer any Catholick to appear. The count Armogastus, who attended one of the king's sons, after having endured divers horrible tortures, was condemned to keep herds of sheep in the fields of Carthage. The prince, his master, would not consent to his being beheaded, fearing lest the Romans (for the Catholicks were so called by the Arians) should pay him the honours which were due to the martyrs. Gisericus was under the like apprehension, with respect to one of the noblemen of his court, for whom he had a great affection, and whom he endeavoured to pervert by a thousand endearing expressions, and promises of riches and honours: But when he saw him stedfast in his generous resolution of preserving the purity of the faith even to his death, he condemned him to lose his head. But he gave orders privately to the executioner to hold his sword sometime suspended in the air; and told

(a) Martyrol. Rom. 16. Octob.

him, that, if he observed any fear in Armogastus, or that he offered to stir, he should immediately cut off his head, because it could not then be said that he died like a martyr; (b) but that, if he still continued stedfast in his resolution, he should bring him back in order to prevent him from acquiring that glory which nevertheless the Church allowed him in spite of that tyrant, who was overcome by his Stedfastness, in the same manner as Hunnericus, the successor to his Crown, was overcome by the invincible resolution of Satorus the steward of his household.

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This generous Christian withstood the greatest shock which nature, with all its forces united, could offer to the heart of a righteous man. For after that the king had endeavoured with prayers and promises to oblige him to become an Arian, he was told that he must immediately choose one of these two things, viz. either to obey the will of his master, or, after the confiscation of his estate, to see his wife, whom he passionately loved, given away before him to be married to a Muletier. This unfortunate lady who, with much difficulty obtained a short time to persuade her husband, used the strongest arguments which the love, fear, sorrow, shame, honour, jealousy and despair of a woman could suggest on this occasion, to make an impression on an honest mind, whose inward conflicts were already stirred up by these powerful passions; yet he resisted all these efforts with a more than heroick resolution, and made faith triumph gloriously over so many formidable enemies, who had all conspired together in order to deprive him of it.

In short, during this cruel persecution, many were crowned with glory, but particularly a whole congregation of the faithful; who, having shut themselves up in a Church, in order to celebrate the feast of the passover, were surrounded by a body of Vandal soldiers, under the command of an Arian priest. These men having forced their passage into the Church, they first killed the Lecturer, who fell dead on the spot by a wound of an arrow, which he received in his throat just as he was singing the sacred canticle *Alleluia*, in the same manner as we sing it to this day in our Churches. Then they massacred, without distinction, whomsoever they met in their way, priests, and Lay-men, men, women, and little chil-

(b) Martyrol. Rom. 16. Octob.

A.D. 457. dren, excepting only a very small number, who ran away, to save themselves from the slaughter, yet could not escape the cruelty of Gisericus; for, having caused them to be apprehended, they were all put to death. But these Barbarians carried their fury still farther. They went into other Churches, during the celebration of the sacred mysteries, and whilst the people were partaking of the holy communion, they threw themselves like men possessed with rage, on the body and blood of JESUS CHRIST. They acted a thousand insolencies against the blessed Sacrament, by flinging it on the ground, and trampling it under their feet, with many other blasphemous actions, so that the Arians followed the example of the Donatists their predecessors, who were guilty of the like sacrileges in the time of Optatus bishop of Mileva, (as he himself certifies) as the Protestants of our times have renewed those of the Arians, whose example they have followed by their abominable detestation of the blessed Sacrament on the altar. And certainly they must acknowledge, by the faithful testimonies of history, that we are as like unto those Catholicks of the primitive ages, as they are to those Hereticks, who, according to their own confession, committed the greatest disorders in those days.

These were the advantages which Gisericus reaped from the broils of the Empire, in order to usurp part of it to himself, and oppress the Catholick religion. The king of the Visigoths acquired still greater benefits on the same occasion: For, having divided his forces into three bodies, he headed one of them, and took possession of the greatest part of the Narbonian Gaul; (c) then carried his conquests as far as the Rhone. The other two Armies he sent into Spain; (d) Cyrilla, who commanded the one, subdued Andaloufia, without coming to a battle; and the other, under the command of Nepotian, and Sunnericus, (e) marched into Galicia, where Acliulphus, whom Theodoricus had appointed governour of those parts, had revolted against his benefactor, and presumed to take upon himself the title of king. This army first seized on the city of Asturica which was betrayed to them; (f) and there committed as many sacrileges, as they had done at Braga, destroying, burning, and ransacking whatever came in their way; and, besides the

(c) Miscell. Marc.

(d) Idat.

(e) Jornand.

(f) Afterga.

greatest

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greatest part of the inhabitants of that wretched city, they brought away with them into captivity two bishops with all the clergy. They acted in the like manner at Palentia; and, after having caused in all places most horrible devastations, they totally defeated the army of Acliulphus, who was made prisoner, and then beheaded; after which the Suevi, having in a submissive manner begged for peace, thro' the intercession of the bishops whom they sent to Theodoricus, he not only granted them their request, but also permitted them to choose a king. A. D. 457.

As they could not all agree on so nice a point, they divided themselves into two parties, who chose each of them a king, these were Frantanes, and Masdra; (g) the former died within a few months after, and was succeeded by Frumarus; and the other, after having killed his own brother, and caused great disorders throughout Galicia, and Lusitania; was put to death by his own people. His son Remismond, (h) after the death of Frumarus, having reconciled the minds of all the Suevi, became at last sole king of that nation, who, from being Pagans, had embraced the Christian religion, through the correspondence which they held with the Romans, and native Spaniards, and at last unfortunately became Arians, by the fatal political management of Theodoricus, and Remismond. This prince, who was of a generous mind, being resolved to restore the Suevi to the flourishing condition, which they were in under their king Recharius, entered into Lusitania with a potent army, and had almost made the conquest of it, (i) when he became master of Coimbra, and even of Lisbon, which was delivered up to him by the treachery of the governour. Now, in order to remain secure of his conquest, he thought on means to defend himself against the power of the Romans and Visigoths, who claimed a right to these provinces. As to the Romans, he had but little regard to them, knowing that the broils and disorders of the Empire had reduced them to the utmost extremities. But he was of opinion that the only way of engaging the Visigoths in his interest was, by recommending himself to their protection. A. D. 458.

To this end he sent a magnificent embassy to Theodoricus, to assure him of the inviolable fidelity of the Suevi, who were resolved

(g) Idat.

(h) Isidor. in Chron.

(i) Idat. Marian. l. 5. c. 5,

A. D. 460. to own themselves obliged to him for what they possessed, and were at all times ready punctually to obey his commands. That, in order to form a more perfect union between the two nations, he begged that he would grant him the honour of an alliance with the the princess, his daughter, whose right it was to be seated on that throne which he had restored to the Suevi. Theodoricus, who was proud of having kings for his vassals, received these proposals with joy, and sent the princess with very rich presents to Remismond, under the guardianship of Salanus, who was the first great officer of his court, with whom he dispatched likewise one Ajax, a Gaul by nation, and a man of wit and politicks, but a most impious Arian, who embraced that heresy, only with the view of gaining the favour of his prince, following in this the detestable maxim of the worldly people, who always adhere to that religion which seems most to favour their interest. This man, according to the instructions which he had received of Theodoricus, did not omit representing to Remismond, " That if it was true, as the prince declared, that the welfare of his dominions depended on the perfect union he was resolved to hold with the Visigoths, it was yet more true that such a thing could never be brought about between the two nations, so long as they were divided, concerning the most essential point of the Christian religion. That it was impossible, whilst people's opinions were so contrary to each other, with respect to a matter of that moment, not to have an aversion to each other; and that this being the case, there was no probability to expect that the alliance, which he was contracting with Theodoricus, could form a lasting union between these two Nations. That it had been observed in all times, when ever religion was the pretence, which often happened where there was the least dispute between people of a different belief, that this interest being stronger than any other, there was no tie in nature ever so binding, but what it would break. That it made children rise up in arms against their parents, wives against their husbands, and brothers against brothers. That on this occasion people thought their piety was the greater towards God, as they were the more merciless towards their nearest relations, and then made it a meritorious thing to commit the most abominable crimes in violation of the sacred laws both of
" God,

BOOK IX.

The History of ARIANISM.

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“ God, and man. That for these considerations, as also, in order *A. D.*
 “ to render this alliance eternal, Theodoricus conjured him to en- 460.
 “ ter into a perfect union of mind with him by embracing the
 “ true Christian religion in its purity, as it was professed by the
 “ Visigoths. That, by this unity of religion, their two nations
 “ being made one people, and renouncing the superstitions and cor-
 “ rupt belief of their common enemies the Romans, they would
 “ then join their forces together, in order to complete the destruc-
 “ tion of those men, whom God had already abandoned because
 “ of their impieties.

In short, this wicked apostate carried on his negotiation so well, that he perverted Remismund, who was already influenced by the advantage which he proposed to himself in the friendship of Theodoricus, as also by the prayers and caresses of the Arian princess his spouse, who took a proper opportunity of instilling into his mind the poisonous notions of heresy, during the first transports of his passion. So this wretched prince renounced the Catholick faith, and made a publick profession of Arianism, which the Suevi embraced also, by following his example, according to the damnable custom of some of the northern countries, who always model their belief upon the religion of their prince. But this happened only about five or six years afterward, not long before the death of Theodoricus, who had been all this while very unsuccessful in his war against Majorianus.

For this Emperour, who was a man of great courage, and had the soul of a Roman, not being able to bear the insolences which the Barbarians acted against the Empire, (*k*) entered into Gaul with a powerful army, and, having defeated the Visigoths, he compelled Theodoricus to deliver up to him all the imperial provinces which he had lately usurped from the Romans. After these fortunate beginnings, he marched into Spain with his victorious army, and ordered a strong fleet to be fitted out at Carthage, in order to pass over into Africa, to make war against the Vandals, (*l*) having before-hand been himself over amongst them in disguise to make some discoveries: But whilst he was making preparations for an expedition of this great importance, Gisericus

(*k*) Idat. Marian.

(*l*) Procop. l. i. cap. 6.

A.D. 460. having received notice of it, he came to meet him at Sea with those mighty naval forces which he always kept ready, which, having fallen upon his fleet, before it was in a condition to fight, he took one part of them without any great resistance, and burned the rest. This fatal accident obliged Majorianus to suspend for some time the design which he had formed of carrying on that war. But as he was returning to Rome, after having pacified the people of Gaul, he was miserably destroyed by the treachery of Ricimerus.

This man was a person of great distinction amongst the Goths, and born of one of the daughters of Vallia, king of the Visigoths. (*m*) As he had continued in the service of the Romans, being a brave and experienced general, he was honoured with the first dignities of the Empire, being made count, patrician, and consul, (*n*) and was likewise possessed of the greatest employments in the army, where he did considerable services, having even defeated, under the government of Avitus, a vast number of the Vandal forces, who according to their custom came over in sixty ships of war to plunder the coast of Italy; and now under Majorianus he enjoyed the first post in the Empire, being made general of the Roman armies. But withal he was a most inveterate Arian, and of all men in the world the blackest and most perfidious, being capable of committing the wickedest actions, in cold blood, when they were of service to his ambition. This passion placed him in his own imagination above all mankind, insomuch that he could not bear the thoughts of a rival in power and greatness, no not even in the throne, unless he would bend to him on all occasions, and be subject to his will. Therefore, finding that Majorianus who, by the greatness of his soul, and his extraordinary virtues, was worthy of his fortune, preserved his character with a proper authority, and behaved himself, in every respect, like a Roman Emperour, 461. he conspired privately with Vibius Severus, one of the senators, who was entirely devoted to him; and as he had the army at his command, he caused the latter to be proclaimed Emperour; (*o*) but first seized on the person of Majorianus, who was then at Tor-

(*m*) Marian. l. 5. c. 5.
cell. Anon. Cuspin,

(*n*) Idat. ad ann. 456.

(*o*) Idat. Cassiod. Mar-

tona, and, having deprived him of the Empire, on the second day of August, he caused him to be murdered after a barbarous manner about five days after. A. D. 461.

He was a prince worthy of commanding such Romans as had still any remains of the virtue of their ancestors. But he had the misfortune of being raised to the Empire at a time when, we may venture to say, he himself was the last of the Romans. Nevertheless he used his best endeavours not to appear as such: For he made extraordinary good laws, which he strictly observed, and by his example was labouring to restore that ancient virtue, by which Rome once became the mistress of the world; but by having lost it, was now almost reduced to be a slave to the Barbarians. He also acted jointly with St. Leo, bishop of Rome, in order to bring piety again into a flourishing condition, and reform abuses; amongst which was that, whereby young virgins were sacrificed by their parents, who used to shut them up in monastries, that their fortunes might serve to bring up their other children in the world. (p) For he made an edict, by which it was forbidden (as St. Leo had done before by a constitution) that any virgin, who was designed for a religious life, should take the veil before she had attained to the age of forty years, in order, that continuing till that time at liberty to choose the manner of life, which they were most inclined to, their parents could not have an opportunity of treating them with their usual severity. (q) In short, besides the beauties of his person, he was master of all the eminent perfections becoming an Emperour; and the only thing with which we can reproach him, was the too great value he set on this perfidious Arian Goth, who put Rome into irons, and made slaves of its Emperours.

For indeed, after the death of Majorianus and that of the great St. Leo, who died four months before him in the same year, Ricimerus, conceiving that nothing could now oppose either his ambition, or his cruelty, assumed a tyrannical power over Rome, disposing, as he pleased, of the Empire, and of his imaginary Emperour, whom he had promoted to that dignity only to be subservient to his passions. He even carried his violence and impiety so

(p) Majorian. Novell. tit. 8.

(q) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Vand.

- A. D.* far that no body could bear it, bringing the abomination of desolation into the holy place, (*r*) by usurping, with an arbitrary power, one of the Churches of Rome, which was that of St. Agatha, wherein with his Arians he publickly celebrated the profane mysteries of his heresy. In the mean while all the Arian kings acquired great advantages during the disorders which succeeded the death of Majorianus, whose virtues they admired, and whose courage they dreaded. (*s*) Gisericus, who not long before was forced to beg for a peace, having now renewed the war, laid waste the whole coast of Italy, and Greece, (*t*) and carried the terror of his arms even into Egypt, from whence nevertheless he withdrew, without having made any exploits, as the wonderful Daniel Stylitus had foretold it to the Emperour Leo. (*u*) The Suevi, on the other part, took advantage of these disorders, with a design to establish, and carry on their conquests farther into Lusitania. (*x*) Theodoricus, king of the Visigoths, took possession a second time of Narbona, which was delivered up to him by count Agrippinus, in order to obtain his protection against count Gilles, governour of Gaul for the Romans, who about the same time defeated, in Britany, and killed Fredericus brother to the king of the Visigoths. But after the death of this count, Theodoricus began to take courage again, and, improving so favourable an opportunity, found it no difficult task to regain the provinces situated on the other side of the Loire, which Majorianus had taken from him, whilst Childericus, king of France, after having defeated in battle the same Roman governour, (*y*) was conquering those countries which lie between that river, and the Seine. So that the Romans, who were beaten and repulsed on all sides by the French, the Goths, and Bourguignons, who marched forwards on the borders of the Saone, and Rhone, had nothing now left them in Gaul but the meer shadow of Empire in a few of its provinces.

Nevertheless Ricimerus shewed very little concern for these losses, because his thoughts were wholly employed upon the establishment of his tyrannical dominion in Rome, (*z*) where he

(*r*) Greg. lib. 3. ep. 19.
Dan. ap. Sur. 11. Decemb. Idat.
Aim. l. 1. cap. 8.

(*s*) Idat.
(*x*) Idat.
(*z*) Marcell.

(*t*) Procop. l. 1.

(*u*) Aët.
(*y*) Gregor. Tur. l. 1. c. 12.

caused Hermenericus, an Arian Goth, to be chosen consul, and there reigned over the Romans under the names of those insignificant Emperours, whom he used to make, and destroy just according as his own fancy led him, or as he was influenced by his passions, or interest. For having promoted Severus to the imperial throne, and not finding proper dispositions in him to gratify his ambition, he caused him to be poisoned; after which he treated with the Emperour Leo, offering him to proclaim Anthemius, for whom that Emperour had a very great value, (a) but with this condition that the latter should give him his daughter Euphemia for a wife. This Anthemius was a man of the first rank by his birth, as also by his employments in the court of Constantinople, being at that time patrician, and prefect of the East. (b) He was grandson to the great Anthemius, who was first minister to the young Theodosius; and Marcian, his successor, had honoured him with his alliance, by giving him his own daughter in marriage. Leo, who was highly pleased that a Grecian, and one of his creatures, should be raised to the Empire, readily approved of this proposal; and Ricimerus, who was well assured that he should still continue to have all things in his power as before, thought it would be of great advantage to him to be son in law to an Emperour. Therefore this affair being agreed upon by both parties, Leo, after a years interregnum, sent Anthemius with count Marcellinus and a most magnificent attendance into Italy, where he was received by Ricimerus, who came with the senate to meet him within eight miles of Rome, (c) and there solemnly proclaimed him Emperour with the title of Augustus, even before he entered the city.

His arrival had like to have caused great disorders in Rome, with respect to the religion. For whether it was that he had a mind to make himself agreeable to Ricimerus, who was an Arian, or that he did not foresee the evil which his behaviour might occasion, he had brought with him amongst his attendants one Philotheus, a Macedonian Heretick, who had a great interest with him. (d) This man, seeing himself supported by the favour and authority of the Emperour, took upon him immediately to dictate publicly

(a) Cassiod. in Chron. Sidon. in Paneg. Anth.
ceph. l. 25. c. 11.

(c) Idat.

(d) Gelas. ep. 11.

(b) Evag. lib. 2. c. 16. Ni-

A. D. 467. in Rome, and to appoint meetings, where he set forth the principles and false reasons of those who had sequestred themselves from the Roman Church, in order that people might be at liberty to choose the religion which they liked best; but withal he positively maintained his own opinion, and thus artfully infused the venom of his heresy into the minds of those who were apt easily to be drawn away by new doctrines. And by this means he certainly would have caused great disorders, had not Hilarius, bishop of Rome, who was successor to St. Leo, opposed him at first with an invincible steadfastness. For as the Emperour was one day in the Church of St. Peter, this holy bishop addressed him in the presence of the whole Congregation, and spoke with so much force and persuasion against the insolent liberty, which Philotheus had preached up, that Anthemius, (either out of fear lest the Romans should rise up against him, or because he could not resist the power of the spirit which spoke by the bishop) promised him solemnly, and with an oath in the hearing of the people, that he would put a stop to these disorders, and forbid all meetings of that kind, which he accordingly performed. Thus we see how great an influence a man of God, supported by a holy life and character, may have over the princes of the earth, since he can humble them, and make them submit to the power of God, by this means the heresy of Philotheus was prevented from taking root in Rome, tho' at the same time the Hereticks in other parts encreased prodigiously by the over-growing power of the Visigoths, after the death of Theodoricus their king.

For whilst this unhappy prince was using his utmost endeavours to bring the Suevi to the Arian religion, by means of the alliance which he made with Remismond, their king, to whom he had given his daughter for wife, (e) God, by a just judgment, permitted that, as he had inhumanly massacred his brother Torismond, he likewise should be put to death by his other brother Evaricus; who by the means of this parricide, ascended the throne himself. And, as he had cause to fear that Remismond would revenge the death of his father-in-law, he resolved (being a man of equal courage and ambition) to prevent him by marching with his forces

(e) Idat. *Isid.* in Chron.

into Spain, which at that time was divided amongst the Romans, the Suevi, and the Visigoths. The latter were masters of Andalusia, and Catalonia. The Suevi held old Galicia in their possession, with the major part of Lusitania, and the remainder was under the government of the Romans. Evaricus, having surpris'd Remismund, plundered his whole country, and took possession of Lusitania; then, after so successful a beginning, having resolved to invade the whole monarchy of Spain, he sent a considerable body of men towards the river Ebre as far as the Pirenees, where they took Pampeluna, and Sarragossa. Whilst he, on the other side, with his army, fell upon the remaining provinces, and behaved with so much valour and conduct, (f) that, after having taken and plundered Tarragona, which in those days was the most considerable city in Spain, he drove out the Romans, and reduced the whole country to his subjection, excepting only Galicia, which continued sometime longer under the dominion of the Suevi. And indeed, it is probable that he would even then have destroyed them intirely had not fortune, which was so favourable to him at that time, procured him an opportunity of making greater conquests in Gaul, where he returned in order to attack the Romans, at the request of Gisericus, king of the Vandals, for the reason of which I shall now relate to you.

Leo, Emperour of the East, who was a prince truly Catholick, and of a great soul, not being able to bear any longer the affronts which Gisericus daily offered, both to the religion and to the Empire, resolved at last to make war against him with all his forces, in order to regain what he had usurped from the Romans. To this end he made the greatest preparations of war that any Emperour was ever known to have done before him. For he fitted out three great fleets almost at the same time, in order to fall upon the Vandals on all sides. (g) The first he sent under the command of Marcellinus, who after the death of Aetius, his intimate friend, had fortified himself so well in Dalmatia, that he continued master of that country. The Emperour, in order to bring him over to his interest, gave him those naval forces, with which he drove the Vandals out of Sardinia, which they had in their possession. The se-

A. D.
467.

468.

(f) Isid. in Chron. Marian. l. 5. c. 5.

(g) Procop. de bell. Vandal. lib. 1.

A. D. 468. cond fleet was left to the command of Heraclian, who set out with it in order to attack the Vandal fleet, which he defeated in fight of Tripoli, which was delivered up to him after his victory. Then, having landed his forces, he marched by land towards Carthage, with count Marcellinus, who was come to meet him; and being arrived at the Cape, where anciently stood the temple of Mercury, within a few miles of Carthage, he waited there in expectation of the third fleet, which had orders to attack Carthage by Sea, whilst he engaged the enemy by land. (b) There never was seen so fine a fleet, which was composed of twelve hundred ships with oars, and all perfectly well fitted out, the expence whereof amounted to one hundred and thirty thousand (i) pounds weight in gold, which the Emperour expended on this account. These naval forces were under the command of Basiliscus, brother to the Empress Verina, who, having sailed from the Port of Constantinople with a fair wind, came in very good time to the Cape of Mercury: Which caused so great a terrour in Gisericus, who (after the many losses he had just received, could not oppose such a formidable fleet) that had they marched directly to Carthage, without giving him time to consider of it, they might have easily taken that city, and from that very time rooted out of Africa, both the name, and Tyranny of the Vandals. But, through the treachery of Basiliscus, this favourable opportunity was lost, with the destruction of so glorious a fleet, having first entered into a conspiracy with Asparus.

This wicked man, who was a Goth, (k) and an Arian, tho' at the same time, an experienced officer, had been a long while general in the militia of the East. As he could have no hopes of being raised to the Empire, by reason of the Arian heresy, which he professed, (l) and which was then detested at Constantinople; and as on the other hand his power was great, he managed affairs, after the death of Marcian, so as to cause Leo, who was one of the first generals in the army, to be proclaimed Emperour, believing

(b) Nice. l. 15. c. 27. Procop. l. 1. c. 6. (i) Fourteen millions of gold French, and six hundred and twenty five thousand crowns. Procop. l. 1. c. 6. (k) Procop. l. 1. c. 6. Jorn. c. 45. (l) Niceph. l. 5. c. 27. Cedren. Evag. l. 2. c. 16.

that he would be intirely devoted to him, and that he would confer the title of Cæsar on one of his three sons. But finding that Leo took upon him the authority of Emperour, and would not suffer any one to govern him, and also that he mentioned nothing concerning the creation of a Cæsar, Asparus resolved upon his ruin. To this end, he carried on a private correspondence with Gisericus, whom he had a mind to preserve, in opposition to all the endeavours of Leo, in order to maintain so powerful a patron for the execution of his designs. And as he perceived that the command of this great fleet was given to Basiliscus, who was an Eutychean Heretick, and whose wicked dispositions and ambition were very well known to him, he, with his son Ardaburus, promised to place him on the throne in the room of Leo, provided that he would hold a private intelligence with Gisericus, who would assist them with all the forces of his kingdom in the execution of this project. This alone was sufficient to draw an ambitious man into a conspiracy of this nature. Therefore Basiliscus readily agreed to whatever Asparus required of him, which he accordingly performed by doing the most base, shameful, and detestable action that ever was known. For, instead of investing Carthage by sea at the same time that Heraclian and Marcellinus had agreed to besiege it by land, he kept his fleet in the Port of the Cape of Mercury, under the pretence that Gisericus, with whom he had conferred, only desired a truce of five days, during which time he would resolve to submit to whatever the Emperour demanded of him. But in the mean while the Vandal, having filled his large ships with all the forces he could muster up, and converted the small ones into a vast number of fireships, he sailed by night, with the first favourable wind, and fell at once upon the Emperour's fleet. The latter, being thus suddenly surprised in a Port where they had no room to act, could not prevent such a prodigious number of fireships from setting fire to their fleet, which, by the fierceness of the wind, that carried the flames from ship to ship, was soon involved in a most horrible conflagration.

So dreadful a sight was never seen. This prodigious forest of ships, intermixt with each other, in a short time appeared to be but one fire. What with the roaring of the wind and flames: The

A. D. 468. noise of the fire-brands and falling masts; the soldiers and sailors, by their hideous cries confounding each other, and running up and down half dead and burnt, without knowing where they were going, it created so much horror and confusion throughout the whole fleet, that there was no possibility either of commanding, or obeying, or giving any assistance in this general disaster. Those, who endeavoured to prevent the fireships from burning them, were forced to push them back against their own people to whose ships they set fire, as they themselves were likewise fired by other fireships which were forced against them by their next neighbours. Thus the soldiers of the same fleet were consuming each other in the flames which their enemies had prepared for them, and were destroying one another, whilst they were endeavouring to save themselves. And all this while the Vandals were shooting darts and arrows by the light of the flames, and were sinking down, with poles, and oars, those who flung themselves over board into the Sea in order to get to shore, and so destroyed by water, all those who had escaped the violence of the fire.

There were nevertheless some brave men who, during this disorder fought with great courage and resolution, tho' at the same time all their endeavours were rendered fruitless thro' this abominable treachery. Amongst others, there was John, lieutenant general of the imperial forces, who, having with much difficulty got out of the Port, defended himself so bravely at Sea, that he was even admired by the Vandals themselves. For, seeing himself surrounded on all sides, he generously withstood every ship that came up to him, and killed several of the enemies that attempted to approach him, till at last, the Vandals having laid hold of his ship, he saw himself upon the brink of being crushed by the multitude. And now, whilst Genzo, one of the sons of Gisericus, was entreating him to surrender, and promising him, upon the word of a prince, that he would treat him as a man, whose courage and virtue he greatly admired, this valiant officer, despising these proposals and immediate death, consulted nothing in the height of action, but his undaunted courage, and calling out aloud to the enemy with an haughty and disdainful air, he said — "It never shall be related that John fell into the hands of such dogs as you are." And then flung himself into the Sea, in his armour, and buried himself

himself under the waves. Now of all this prodigious fleet, there hardly escaped any one ship, but that of Basiliscus, which they let pass; and we may say that this was the only reward, he received for his abominable treachery. For at his return to Constantinople, Asparus, who did not expect that the affair would be carried so far, did not dare to declare himself in his interest: So that being loaded with the imprecations of the people, who all required that he should lose his head, he was forced to fly to the great Church for sanctuary, from whence he at last was taken out, and thro' the mediation of the Empress his sister, was sent into banishment to Perinthus in Thracia. After this fatal overthrow Heraclian marched with his army by land to Tripoli. (m) As for Marcellinus, he had been killed some time before in the camp by a Roman officer, who afterwards made his escape to the territories of the Empire. A. D. 468.

In the mean while the Emperour Leo, who knew the dispositions of Asparus, and Ardaburus, having inquired into the affair, had room to believe that they were both concerned in this conspiracy with Basiliscus, and that they held a private correspondence with Gisericus; therefore he resolved to use their own method of dissimulation, and destroy them by the same artifice which they practised against him. (n) To this end, he expressed more affection for them than he had done hitherto; and seemed as if he intended to perform his promise to them, by bringing the whole family of Asparus into his interest and alliance, (o) and so conferred the title of Cesar on his second son Patriciolus, to whom he promised to give his daughter Ariadne in marriage. In this he did two things, which were very serviceable to his design. For, in the first place, he deceived Asparus, who, believing his fortune as great as he could desire it, and himself at the same time restored to favour, did not harbour any suspicion of the Emperour: And in the second place, he made him by these means odious to all the orders of the Empire, who never would admit an Arian to the dignity of the imperial crown: So great was the abhorrence which they bore in those days to Arianism in the East, where it had for...

(m) Marcell. Procop. (n) Niceph. l. 15. c. 27. (o) Cedren. in Comp. Evag. l. 1. c. 16. Cand. ap. Phot.

- A. D.* merly reigned with the utmost rage and insolence. (*p*) And indeed, this news caused great murmurings at Constantinople, particularly amongst the clergy, who made strong representations to the Emperour, in order to prevent an Arian from being his successor. The fathers of the desert, the holy Abbots, and Monks, quitted their monastries, (*q*) and came in crowds into the very hyppodromum, crying out aloud, that the abomination of Arianism should be driven from the sanctuary, and that an Arian should not be created Cesar. The Emperour, who was pleased to see his design meet with success, replied in a cool manner, that all things would go well in time: But under-hand he declared that what he had done, was only in order to secure himself from the plots and attempts of Asparus and his children; (*r*) which coming to the knowledge of the people, they rose up one day against them with so much fury in the hyppodromum, loading them with imprecations, that, fearing lest they should be torn to pieces, they made the best of their way towards the Streights of Calcedonia, and retired to the Asylum of St. Euphemia. (*s*) The Emperour, who still carried on his dissimulation, and was no wise suspected by them, went himself to the place where they were retired, in order to bring them back; hereupon they thought themselves so secure of his protection, that they went to visit him at his palace where he received them after a civil manner, and admitted them even to eat with him at his table. But afterwards Zeno, who was the Emperour's confidant, and who had received private orders from him, caused them all to be massacred by the Eunuchs of the palace; and for his reward Leo gave him Ariadne for wife, and made him prefect of the East. Ostris, who had a great value for Asparus, and was his protector, with Theodoricus, whose sister Asparus had married, (both Arians and princes of the Goths) came some time after with a potent body of men, and marched up to the very gates of Constantinople, (*t*) in order to revenge his death, but they were soon obliged to retire, being repulsed and beaten by Zeno and Basiliscus, who by the means of the Empress his sister, had been recalled from banishment not long before.

(*p*) Aët. S. Marcell. ap. Sur. 29. Decemb. (*q*) Zonar. Ann. t. 3. (*r*) Niceph. l. 15. 27. (*s*) Niceph. ibid. Marcell. in Chron. Iornand. de reb. Get. c. 45. (*t*) Theoph.

After this bloody revolution, Gisericus, who now had no protector at Constantinople, nor any intelligence from thence, began to apprehend that Leo on the one part, and Anthemius his creature on the other, would renew the war against him in Africa, with all the forces of the two Empires united. For which reason, as he was a well-experienced politician, he immediately thought of making a diversion, that scheme having been already so successful to him, when he sent Atila into Gaul against Theodoricus, king of the Visigoths. (u) Therefore applying now to the same artifice, he sent two Ambassadors; the one into Pannonia to the Ostrogoths, in order to persuade them to rise in arms against the Emperor Leo; and the other to Evaricus in Spain, with pressing solicitations to improve so favourable an opportunity of making himself master of what remained in the possession of the Romans in Gaul; promising him that he would, on his part, cut out so much work for them, as would prevent them from sending any of their forces against him, in order to obstruct his conquests. Evaricus, whose courage was naturally great, and who, at this time, was puffed up with the success of so many victories, which he had gained in Spain, received with pleasure these proposals, which equally flattered his expectations, and ambition. On the other hand he received intelligences from Gaul, thro' the treachery of two governours, (w) Arvandus, and Seronatus, who were convicted of having secretly treated with him, in order to deliver up the provinces to him, which were under their Government: And tho' they had been punished as Traitors, there were nevertheless several accomplices with them in this conspiracy, who he doubted not but would declare themselves in his interest. Besides, the Tyranny of these governours, (x) and of some other Roman officers, was become so intolerable to the Gauls, who were treated by them with great injustice and cruelty, that they would rather have had a Hun, or Goth, or any other Barbarian, for their master, than a Roman. This gave him room to believe, that, as the Visigoths had governed in Toulouse with a great deal of lenity and moderation, most of the Gauls would the more readily side with him, in

(u) Jornand. de reb. Get. c. 47. Marian. l. 5.
Ep. 7.

(x) Sidon. l. 2. Ep. 1. Salvian de vero Jud. l. 7.

(w) Sidon. l. 1. Ep. 7. L. 7.

A. D. order to throw off a yoke which they could no longer bear. But at
 472. last, what prevailed upon him to take a Resolution, was, the great
 weakness of the Romans, and the dreadful disorders then raging
 in the Empire of the West, under the cruel Tyranny of Ricimerus.

For this Barbarian, (*y*) who was resolved to destroy the Empe-
 rour Anthemius his father-in-law, whom he thought a man of
 too much virtue, having been disappointed in his attempt, declared
 open war against him; and some time after, having wickedly de-
 ceived him under the false pretence of a peace, which he had pre-
 vailed on St. Epiphanius bishop of Pavia, to demand of him, (*z*) he
 killed him in the very city of Rome, where he also massacred all
 those whom he suspected to be over-zealous in the interest of An-
 themius. He had not long before caused the senator Olybrius to
 be proclaimed Emperour, (*a*) who had married the young Placi-
 dia; (*b*) but neither the one nor the other enjoyed long the fruits
 473. of so horrible a crime. (*c*) The wicked Ricimerus, who was the
 author of it, died forty days after on the eighteenth of August;
 and Olibrius, (*d*) who was one of the accomplices, did not out-
 474. live him much above two months. So within four or five months
 after his death, as no body declared for the Empire, Glyserius, en-
 couraged by Ricimerus's Goths, and chiefly by Gondiband, to
 whom Olybrius had given the title of patrician, caused himself to
 be proclaimed Emperour at Ravenna. (*e*) But in the following
 year, Julius Nepos, son of the sister of count Marcellinus, who had
 driven the Vandals out of Sardinia, dethroned him, and, in order
 to save his life, compelled him to enter into holy orders, after
 which he admitted him to be made a bishop at the Port of Rome,
 from whence he departed, and took upon him the government of
 his Church at Salona in Dalmatia, whither Nepos banished him.
 475. But this new shadow of an Emperour soon vanished, as had done
 the others: For in the following year, Orestes, an officer of the
 Goths, (whom he had made general of the militia, in order to be
 assisted by those of his nation) having risen up against him at the

(*y*) Cassiod. Marcell. Miscell. lib. 15. (*z*) Ennod. in reb. gest. Epiph.
 (*a*) Cassiod. Anonym. Cuspin (*b*) Idat. (*c*) Idat. (*d*) Cassiod. in
 Chron. Marcell. (*e*) Marcell. torn. de reb. Get. c. 45. Evag. lib. 2. c. 16.

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head of the army, he quitted the Empire, and retired into Dalmatia, (f) where, after having lived a private life during five years in a country house which he had near Salona, he was murdered, by the treachery of his own servants.

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Nevertheless Orestes, about two months after expelled Julius Nepos, (g) and, being desirous of reigning under the name of another, caused the army to proclaim his son Momyllus Emperour, whose name also was Augustus, (h) and who afterwards was called Augustulus by way of Derision, because that, having nothing august in him, but the bare name, with the vain shadow of Empire, he was the weakest and meanest of all the Emperours who had born that title. For those amongst the Romans, who were concerned for the loss of Nepos, and could not bear to see a man so unworthy of the Empire seated on the throne of the Cæsars, applied, as it commonly happens in rebellions, to a remedy yet worse than the disease; and in order to deliver themselves from the son of a Goth, they called in another Barbarian for their master, who was an inveterate Arian.

This was Odoacer, king of the Eurily, the Sciri, and Turcilingi; who, having passed the Danube, as the Goths, and Huns had done before him, had made his way thro' the Noricum up to the Alps. (i) He was a young prince of a beautiful form, an extraordinary courage, and eminent natural parts; and had nothing in him of a Barbarian but his birth, and heresy, which all those people had taken from the Goths thro' a fatal infection. He was chosen king by his own nation, who were in hopes that he would one day make them masters of part of Italy; and it is reported that St. Severinus, the Apostle of the Norici, (k) had foretold him when he was in a private station, that he should reign in Italy, and be happy there during the space of thirteen or fourteen years. (l) As he now only waited for a favourable opportunity of completing this good fortune, he passed the Alps, (m) as soon as he found that the Romans invited him over, in order to oppose Orestes; and, after having taken Pavia, where that general proposed to stop his march,

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(f) Cassiod. Jornand. Marcell. (g) Anon. Cuspin. (h) Cassiod. Marcell. Jornand. (i) People of Pomerania, Prussia and Poland. (k) Cluver. l. 3. Part of Austria, Styria and Carinthia. (l) Procop. de Bello. Get. l. 1. Eugipius in vita St. Sever. (m) Cassiod. Marcell.

A. D. he pursued him vigorously to the very gates of Rome, which were
 476. opened to him by those of his party. Now to secure his conquest, he immediately caused Orestes and his brother to be put to death: But having little to fear from the youth, and much less from the weakness of the wretched Augustulus, he only confined him to the stately house of Lucullus, situated near Naples, that he might pass his life more agreeably there than he could have done on a throne, which he was no wise capable of gracing. Thus the Empire of the Romans in the West, five hundred and twenty years after its establishment by the great Augustus, fell from the unfortunate Augustulus into the hands of the Arian Barbarians, who held it under several kings, beginning with Odoacer, who reigned about seventeen years. Nevertheless he would not wear the purple, nor would he assume any other marks of Empire, or title, but that of king of Italy, which his successors retained ever after him, either in honour to their nation, who had a great regard to the name of king, which the Romans had abolished for so many ages; or in order to convince the French, the Bourguignons, the Visigoths, and Vandals, who possessed Gaul, Spain, and Africa, that they had no design to make any attempt on their conquests, being sufficiently satisfied with the kingdom of Italy. The Empire was thus reduced to this deplorable state after so many terrible revolutions.

Evaricus, being solicited, during these disorders, by the king of the Vandals, to drive the Romans out of Gaul, did not doubt but he might undertake it with success in so favourable a conjuncture; so he marched immediately towards Toulouse into the provinces of the Empire with a powerful army which was just returned victorious from Spain. As all things were now in confusion throughout Gaul, and no Roman forces in the field to oppose him, he advanced towards Bourges, where he defeated Rithimus, king of Brittany, (*n*) who was come with twelve thousand men to the relief of the Romans, and who after the defeat of his army retired into Burgundy on the other side of the river Loire. After which a fresh body of Ostrogoths, (*o*) under the command of Vilemirus, whom Glycerius had diverted from Italy by

(*n*) *Jorn. de Reb. Get. c. 45.*

(*o*) *Jorn. c. 55.*

the force of money, came and offered themselves to the Visigoths, in order to make but one nation with them. Therefore Evaricus, finding himself so timely reinforced with such a potent army, carried his conquests up towards the Rhone. (p) This obliged the Emperour Nepos to beg peace of him by the intercession of St. Epiphanius bishop of Pavia, with whose request he complied in appearance. Tho' soon after he marched into the field; (q) and, having run over all the provinces which lie between the Garone, and the Rhone, he even passed this river and went into Provence, where he made himself master of Arles and Marfeilles, and subdued the Bourguignons, who had declared themselves in the interest of the Romans; but the latter not being able to appear in the field, from the time of Odoacer's entering Rome, (r) he compelled all the Gauls who were between the Ocean, the Loire, the Rhone, and the Mediterranean, to submit to his Empire, for the sake of obtaining peace; and to deliver up to him Clermout in Auvergne, which was the only place that remained un taken, and that had been a long time defended by the arms of Ecditius, son of the Emperour Avitus, and thro' the solicitations of the famous Sidonius Apollinaris his brother-in-law who was bishop of that city.

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Yet, what proved still more deplorable in this conquest, was, that Odoacer, who was strenuously zealous for his sect, and could not bear so much as the name of a Catholick, having now no more enemies to oppose him, (s) he turned his arms against the true religion, which he endeavoured to destroy in his dominions, by using all imaginable means to suppress the exercise of it. For he expelled the bishops and pastors from their Churches; some he put to death, and would not suffer that any one should succeed them. He behaved in the same manner to those who died after having escaped his fury. He caused most of the Churches both in town, and country to be destroyed, (t) so that the very cattle went to eat the grass which grew at the foot of the Altars; and he ordered that the passages into other Churches should be filled up with

(p) Ennod. Ticin. de reb. St. Epiph.
l. 3. ep. 1. l. 7. ep. 16. Greg. l. 1. c. 25. Jornand. Marian.
Epist. 6.

(q) Jorn. c. 47.

(r) Sidon. Apol.

(s) Sidon. l. 7.

(t) Greg. Turon. l. 2. c. 25.

A. D. thorns. He expelled the priests, (*u*) whereof many were massacred, some thrown into prison, loaded with irons; and others, in a manner banished; insomuch that the people, particularly the inhabitants of Bordeaux, Perigueux, Rodez, Limoges, Mendez, Bazas, and Auch, besides many others who were barbarously treated, finding themselves without bishops, priests, Churches and Sacraments, were in danger at last of losing their faith and piety, for want of proper food for the support of the one, and the other. But God
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 483. put an end to this cruel persecution by taking out of the world Evaricus, who died at Arles, (*w*) three months after, leaving his son Alaricus for his successor, who was not of so inhuman a disposition as his father.

On the other hand the embassy, which Gisericus had sent into Pannonia to the Ostrogoths, was likewise as fatal to the Empire as that which had brought Evaricus and his Visigoths into Gaul; but we must first give some account of the state which the Ostrogoths were in at that time. After the death of Atila, (who was king of so many princes, and of such a number of Barbarian nations,) (*x*) his sons, (who were very numerous), being all desirous to succeed him in his Empire, were deprived of their expectations. For the other kings, seeing them divided amongst themselves upon the account of their portions, joined altogether against them, and drove them out as far as Pontus Euxinus, after a battle wherein Ardaricus, king of the Gepidi, had defeated them and killed Ellarus the bravest of them, whom Atila had appointed to be his successor. Hereupon they applied to the Emperour Marcian, praying that he would grant them those provinces which Atila had possessed, and which they were desirous to enjoy under him, promising at the same time that they would serve him faithfully; upon condition, that he would also give them a yearly pension. As the Emperour could not well refuse them a thing which they might have taken without his consent, they easily obtained what they required. Therefore the Gepidi took possession of Dacia as the reward of their victory; and the Ostrogoths, under the command of these three valiant brothers, Valemirus, Theodemirus, and Videmirus, their kings, who fought with Atila in the Cata-

(*u*) Sidon. *ibid.*(*w*) Jorn. c. 47.(*x*) Jorn. de reb. Get. c. 50.

launick plains, had Pannonia for their share, which they divided, tho' at the same time they governed their subjects with a perfect union among themselves. (y) Nevertheless they did not continue long in peace with the Emperour; for their pension not being duly paid to them, and believing that they were despised by Marcian, they fell upon Dalmatia, and Illyria, where they paid themselves out of the plunder of those wretched provinces. This obliged the Emperour to send Ambassadors in order to pacify them; and at last the peace was renewed, upon condition that all the arrears that were due should be paid to them immediately, and that for the time to come their pension should be continued by more punctual payments. This being agreed upon, the Ostrogoths, on their part, offered the son of Theodemirus as an hostage of their fidelity. This young prince was the great Theodoricus, who then was not above seven years old, and being brought to Constantinople, he was presented to the Emperour Leo, successor to Marcian; who, finding him a lovely youth, gave him his education in the palace, till he attained to the age of eighteen, (z) and treated him with as much regard and tenderness as if he had been his own son. After this, Theodemirus having done considerable services, in defence of the Empire against the Suevi and Sarmati, he sent Theodoricus back to his father, indued with so many princely qualities, that the Goths held him in admiration. And, in order to give them a trial of what they might expect from him, he passed the Danube with six thousand men who followed him, unknown to his father, and attacked Babaius, king of the Sarmati, (who was now puffed up with the success of a victory which he had lately gained over the Romans,) and killed him with his own hand, then returned home to his father loaded with spoils and plunder, and gave him an account of his voyage and victory. After which he went into Mysia, where he took Singidona, which the king of Sarmati had formerly seized on; and tho' this town was situated in the territories of the Empire, he nevertheless, kept possession of it for the Goths.

This was the condition which they were in when the Ambassadors from Gisericus came to entreat them to make war against

(y) Jorn. c. 52.

(z) Jorn. c. 55.

A. D. the Romans. They did not find much difficulty to succeed in a
 483. negotiation of this moment. (a) For the Goths, seeing that a
 peace was disadvantageous to them, and that their substance was
 wasting, with the small pension they received from the Romans,
 which was in no manner sufficient to maintain them, they daily
 importuned Theodemirus, in order to persuade him to take up
 arms against them. (b) Therefore the promises, and reasons, and
 much more the presents of Gisericus, working strongly upon him
 at so favourable a conjuncture, a fresh war was at last declared,
 (c) and it was resolved to fall upon the Empire both in the East,
 and West at the same time. Whereupon Theodemirus, who, since
 the death of Valemirus, (who was killed in a battle against the
 Suevi and Scythians,) had taken upon him the principal com-
 mand, divided the Goths into two Bodies. (d) The one he gave to
 his brother Videmirus, in order to march with it into Italy, where
 he died; and his son being bribed with money and other presents
 which Glycerius made him, went into Gaul, where he joined the
 Visigoths. As for Theodemirus, who commanded the greatest
 number of forces, having passed the Savus with his son Theodori-
 cus, he laid waste the countries of Illiria, and Dalmatia, as far as
 Epirus, then entered into Macedonia, and Thessalia, where he took
 Larissa and Heraclea, and plundered the finest and richest country
 of Greece; after which, marching back towards Thracia, he laid
 siege before Thessalonica, where Clarianus, general of the imperial
 army, who did not dare to keep the field, had shut himself up.
 But at last a peace being purchased with money and additional ter-
 ritories, he died soon after, leaving the whole kingdom of the
 Ostrogoths to his successor Theodoricus, who did not reign very
 long before he broke that peace which his father had made.

This was the consequence of Gisericus's two embassies, who,
 thro' those political proceedings, obtained what he had proposed to
 himself, and, by these two powerful diversions enjoyed a perfect
 peace in Carthage, where at last he died in the same year wherein
 Odoacerus entered Rome. (e) Hunnericus, his eldest son, succeed-
 ed him, and in the beginning of his reign gave some cause to be-

(a) Jorn. c. 56. (b) Idat. c. 47. (c) Cap. 53. (d) Cap. 59. (e) Viator.
 de Utic. Perfect. Vand. l. 2.

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lieve that he would prove much more compassionate than his father. He at first shewed an aversion to the Manichees, whom he prosecuted with severity; and would not spare even his own Arian priests, who for the most part were infected with that pestilential heresy. As for the Catholics, he took so little notice of them that they began to believe themselves at liberty to assemble in their Churches in order to celebrate the holy mysteries in publick. He even permitted them, at the request of the Emperour Zeno, and of Placidia, widow of the Emperour Olybrius, to choose a bishop at Carthage, where Gisericus had not suffered any for twenty four years. Accordingly they made choice of Eugenius, who was a man of an extraordinary piety, but in particular, so charitable towards the poor, that he daily distributed amongst them whatever mony he had left, after having reserved what was barely sufficient for a very frugal maintenance; and relied solely on that divine providence, which (during the extreme poverty which his Church was reduced to, from the time that Gisericus had seized on all the revenues) was ever assistant in supplying him, thro' the charity of the faithful, with a sufficient provision for the support of the poor.

This Hunnericus dissembled for some time out of policy, in order to settle his government, and take proper measures for the execution of a cruel design which he had formed. But as soon as he found that his power was absolute, and that he might undertake whatever he pleased, without fear of any one's opposing him, he threw off all disguise, and acted openly in the most cruel and inhuman manner that was ever done by any Tyrant. For as he had no children, and could not bear the thoughts of any one's having a right to succeed him, he became the executioner of his own relations. He expelled his brother Theodoricus, and caused him to be treated so barbarously in his exile that he soon died. He put to death the princess his sister-in-law, with her eldest son who was a young prince endued with many excellent qualities, whom Gisericus himself had esteemed worthy of the Empire. All the rest of his family, with his other nephews the sons of Genzo, he banished to the deserts of Africa, in order that they might perish there. And because Jocundus, the first of all his Arian bishops, was an intimate friend of Theodoricus, he caused him to be burned

A. D. ed in the publick place at Carthage, destroying likewise by some
483. cruel torment or other, all those who had been zealous for the service of that unfortunate prince.

These were only trials of his cruelty, which soon after broke out most violently against the Catholicks, who were persecuted in a more terrible and inhuman manner than had ever been practised by any barbarous Tyrant, who had resolved the destruction of christianity. He began this persecution upon his family and those of his attendance. For he immediately broke and banished all the officers and soldiers, who refused to be baptised, in order to profess Arianism, which was a thing that even the Arians did not require, because in their baptism, they used to observe the same form with the Catholicks. He forced the holy virgins from their monasteries, and caused them to be tortured in a most cruel manner, by applying red hot irons to their bodies, in order to compel them in the height of their torment, to accuse falsely both priests and bishops of having a criminal conversation with them, because this Barbarian was willing to cover his cruelty under this pretence, in order to deprive the clergy, by this calumny, of the honour of being martyrs. But seeing that the steadfastness of these holy virgins (whereof several expired in the midst of their torments,) rendered his cruel and villanous design fruitless, he at once, without any farther dissimulation openly declared himself; and after having caused about four thousand nine hundred clergymen to be taken up, bishops, priests, deacons, lecturers, and acolythes, nay even the children who were employed in the service of the Churches, he delivered them into the hands of the Moors, in order to carry them into their most dreadful deserts, where they were condemned to perish with hunger. But before they could arrive thither, they endured the most inhuman treatment that can be imagined, even worse than death itself. For the Moors wounded, with their darts, those, who, being tired, could not walk fast enough; and as for those who fell down on the road with fatigue and faintness, he tyed them by the feet with ropes and dragged them along like beasts, thro' stones and thorns, till at last, their bodies being torn to pieces, they expired.

But what was most wonderful and comfortable in the midst of much misery, was to see on the one side these illustrious confessors

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fors of JESUS CHRIST, expressing the joy of their soul, by singing canticles of praise unto GOD, and glorying in their sufferings, by openly confessing the Trinity of three persons in one only GOD; and on the other side to see an infinite number of people coming from all parts, and walking before these martyrs with burning tapers in their hands, then flinging themselves at their feet with these lamentable expressions. "In whose hands do you leave us, ye glorious confessors of JESUS CHRIST, who are now going to receive that crown of glory which is designed for you? who shall hereafter baptise our children? and who shall bury our dead with the solemn prayers of the Church? who shall absolve us from our sins, by a reconciliation to GOD thro' repentance? and whom shall we now have to offer up for us the divine sacrifice with the holy ceremonies?" I ought not, in my opinion, to have suppressed so beautiful a circumstance of this history, in order to convince the world, that the Christians and Martyrs of the African Church, speaking like us, and acting as we do to this very day, in the use of the sacraments, were no wise Protestants, and that as they in those times were the true Catholicks, so likewise are we the same in this age.

In the mean while Hunnericus, after having deliberated upon this affair, with his Arian bishops, was of opinion, that, before he went on with this violent persecution, it was proper to appoint a conference wherein the Catholick bishops should be obliged to prove the consubstantiality of the word by scripture. And as it would be an easy matter to give it out that they were not able to do it, there would be a good pretence after this, in case they should persist in their belief, to treat them as obstinate Hereticks. This being agreed on, Hunnericus sent Zeno's Ambassador to the bishop Eugenius, with an edict dated on the twentieth of May in the seventh year of his reign, which he likewise published throughout Africa, whereby he commanded him and all Catholick bishops to repair to Carthage on the first day of February in the following year, in order to give an account of their belief in a publick conference. Eugenius used his utmost endeavour in humble representations to bring the matter about (as the cause of the whole catholick Church was here concerned) so as the other bishops who were out of Africa might also be summoned to assist at his conference, and particu-

A. D. 483. larly that deputies of the Roman Church, as being the head of all the other Churches, should be admitted to it. But far from granting so powerful an assistance to the party of Eugenius, Hunnericus, who was absolutely resolved to take all opportunities of suppressing them, excluded from the assembly those who were reputed the most learned amongst the Catholics, and condemned them for supposed crimes, some to banishment, and others to death. He even caused Latus, who was one of the most ingenious and learned men in Africa, to be burnt alive, in order to terrify those who were called to this conference, and by this means dispirit them, and prevent their being ready to defend and maintain their cause.

484. But GOD was resolved to maintain it himself, which he did in a most miraculous manner, before the day appointed for the assembly. A blind man, whose name was Felix, and who was well known throughout the city, in the night time, on the Eve of the Epiphany, heard three times following, in a dream, a voice which commanded him to go on the next day and present himself before the bishop Eugenius, who would restore his sight to him, by touching his eyes, at the same time that he was consecrating the waters which were designed for the baptism of the Catechumens. This command being repeated a third time with threatnings, he obeyed, and having caused himself to be conducted very early in the morning, to the Church, where the people (who in those days celebrated that feast with great devotion) were already assembled in order to sing hymns and the psalms appointed for Matins, he prostrated himself at the feet of Eugenius, acquainting him with the command, which he had received. And upon the holy bishop's refusing, out of humility, to grant his request, he still protested that he would not leave him till the command of GOD was fulfilled. At which Eugenius complied, and prayed to GOD that he would bless the blind-man's faith, then touched his eyes with the sign of the holy cross, and at that very instant Felix recovered the use of his eyes in the presence of all the people, who saw him with admiration, walk without any guide up to make his offering unto GOD, into the hands of the holy bishop who laid it on the altar. The whole city, who knew Felix to be blind, and now saw him restored to his sight, witnessed this miracle with transports of joy not to be expressed; and the man who was born blind, never occasioned

occasioned a greater noise at Jerusalem, than Felix did at Carthage.

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Hunnericus, who was surprised at so wonderful a thing, was resolved to be satisfied himself of the truth of it, and therefore ordered Felix to be sent for. He knew by the testimony of thousands of people that he was actually blind before this happened; and seeing now that his eyes were very good, he examined him, and heard from his own mouth the whole history of his recovery: Hunnericus seeming to be moved at this relation, his Arian bishops, who had not the assurance and impudence to contest a fact which he saw with his own eyes, were wicked enough to say what the Pharisees used often to report of JESUS CHRIST, viz. that Eugenius had performed this cure by a diabolical and magick operation. As they were very desirous of being delivered from this troublesome witness, who was (as may be said) a living and undeniable conviction of the falsity of their sect, they would have made away with him, if they could have done it conveniently.

But Cyrola, who was one of the most considerable amongst them, and whom the Arians called their Patriarch, found out another expedient which seemed to him more moderate and safe for the honour of his party, tho' at the same time it only served to make it more odious. (e) For having bribed, with a sum of fifty crowns, a poor wretched fellow, who feigned being blind, and who in a large place of the city in the presence of the people, prayed him to restore him to his sight, as he had done to many others; this false bishop rendered him really blind, at the very time that he was gravely acting his part as if he intended to heal him, by way of a confirmation of that belief which he professed. Hereupon the wretched counterfeit flung the fifty crowns to him, and in a lamentable voice urged him to restore to him the use of his eyes, which he had just deprived him of by his impiety, and thus discovered the imposture. Then praying some person who was standing by to lead him to St. Eugenius, who was then in company with two other holy bishops, Vindemialis and Longinus, and having openly professed the catholick faith, he received the grace of a miraculous recovery, the two bishops holding their hands over

(e) Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. 2. c. 3.

A.D. 484. his head, and St. Eugenius, crossing his eyes with the sign of the cross, and saying in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy ghost, whom we confess to be one only true God, in three persons of co-equal power, may thine eyes be opened. This confirmed the Catholicks in their faith, but did not change the hardened hearts of Hunnericus and his Arian bishops. (f) For the first day of February being come, they insisted upon the appointed conference, which was only a snare contrived against the Catholicks.

There came to this meeting four hundred and sixty six bishops, from all the provinces of Africa, Corsia, and Sardinia, which Gisericus had retaken after the defeat of the Emperour's army commanded by Basiliscus. But some days passed before they began the conference, during which time Hunnericus made away with those bishops whom he thought most eminent for their learning, besides others whom he had banished for false crimes which were laid to their charge. As soon as they began to meet, it plainly appeared that nothing would be transacted according to the laws of a formal conference, and that the Catholicks would be tyrannically oppressed by the Arians. (g) For in the first place Cyrola, who assumed to himself the title of Patriarch, would be president, or rather give laws to this assembly: And to this end he had caused a magnificent throne to be erected, which he immediately ascended, leaving the orthodox clergy standing without any mark of distinction. The latter, who had chosen ten bishops out of their whole number, who were appointed to speak for all the rest, in order that the Arians might have no room to say that they interrupted the conference by their multitude, first of all demanded by what authority Cyrola took upon him that pre-eminence; then said, that as he was a party concerned, it was not convenient that he should be judge; and that it was but reasonable that arbitrators should be named, who were capable of enquiring into the cause and proceedings of those who should dispute. Hereupon the Arians cried out in a loud voice, with abusive expressions from all parts, saying, that as the Catholicks could not prove the *Homo-*

(f) Sirmond. Notit. Provinc. & Urb. Eccl. Afric. t. 4. Concil. Editi Paris. A. 1671. (g) Victor. l. 2.

ousion by scripture, nor give a reason for their belief, they were only endeavouring to find evasions, in order to prevent a conference. To this they modestly replied, that, since the Arians would not admit of any arbitrators, it was but just that some of the most considerable persons and eminent citizens of Carthage should be permitted to be present at the conference, in order to witness what was debated on both sides. This alone was sufficient to exasperate those furious men against the Catholics, whom they aspersed, saying that they were endeavouring to excite the people to sedition, and hereupon they called in the soldiers, who were upon guard without the doors, and who at a signal which was given to them, made a reply for the Arians, by falling upon the Catholics, whom they beat unmercifully with sticks.

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Eugenius, who was the chief of the orthodox bishops, called upon God and man to witness this violent treatment: But at last, in order to convince the Arians that, notwithstanding the injustice of their proceedings, they had no mind to evade a disputation, he addressed himself to Cyrola, desiring that he would begin the conference, by propounding what he had to say against the belief of the Catholics, assuring him that they were ready to answer him. This false Patriarch, who was very ignorant, and dreaded nothing more than to enter upon a dispute, replied, that he did not understand the latin tongue. They immediately told him, that he understood it of course, since he generally used to speak it. So that being confounded, and finding that he had people to deal with, who were prepared to dispute resolutely with him, he himself acted that shameful part, with which he had so falsely and arrogantly reproached them not long before. He endeavoured to bring himself off by evasions and little subtleties, which plainly shewed that he was no wise inclined to bring matters to a debate. (b) Therefore Eugenius who had foreseen this, caused his colleagues to present the assembly with an ample and excellent exposition of the catholic faith relating to the consubstantiality of the Word: and of the Holy ghost, (i) which he proved by scripture, by the fathers, and by the continued and inviolable tradition of the

(b) Gennad. c. 97. (i) Apud. Victor. l. 2, falso sub ejus Nomine. Tom. 4. Biblioth. Patr. t. 4. Concil. Paris. A. D. 1671.

A. D. 484. Church down from the apostles, and this he composed with the consent and approbation of all the bishops of his party in whose name it was presented. The other bishops could not refuse reading it, in as much as the Catholics were summoned to give an account of their belief. But as it was perfectly well drawn up, and the Arians, who were then present, could no wise resist the invincible force of those reasons and quotations which were therein set down in a most wonderful light, they interrupted the reading of it with a tumultuous noise contrived on purpose, which occasioned the assembly to break up; and the Arians laid their complaints before Hunnericus, representing to him that the *Homo-ousians* (for thus they styled the Catholics) had caused a most horrible disorder by their seditious murmurings, and furious behaviour, in order to prevent the assembly from enquiring into the truth of their doctrine, (k) which had been condemned by so many councils, and particularly by that of Rimini.

Hunnericus hereupon, without examining any farther into this accusation, caused a decree to be published which was already drawn up by the management of his bishops, whereby, after having falsely declared that the catholic bishops had endeavoured to excite a sedition, in order to prevent the conference, he took their Churches from them, and having given them to the Arians, it was resolved that all those who would not profess Arianism by the beginning of June, should undergo the punishment which had been decreed by the edicts of the Emperours against Hereticks. This being done, he expelled all these bishops from the city, after having stripped them of their possessions, and forbidden, upon pain of being burned alive, any one to receive them or give them any subsistence. And as they had proposed to represent their unhappy case to him, they watched an opportunity one day as he was taking the air out of the town, and presented themselves before him; but instead of giving them an answer, he ordered his guards to trample them under the feet of their horses, who killed several of them, particularly some of the eldest of them, who were not able to save themselves. In short, not one of these prelates could escape his cruelty: For he sent some of them to till the ground like

(k) Victor. l. 3.

BOOK IX.

The History of ARIANISM.

191

slaves; (l) others he banished to the Isle of Corsica, in order to cut down timber for the use of his ships; and some he put to death after a most cruel manner; amongst others the holy bishops Vindemialis, and Longinus; several more with the bishop of Carthage were sent into the deserts, where, in a most distressed condition, they suffered a long and painful martyrdom.

A. D.
484.

The pastors being thus cut off, the whole flock was not only dispersed, but horribly tortured by all manner of torments which were inflicted on those who generously persisted in confessing the divinity of the son of God. (m) Hunnericus sent executioners throughout Africa in order to persecute the Catholics, on whom the cruel mandates of this inhuman Tyrant were unmercifully put in execution. All the torments that ever were invented by the first persecutors of christianity, as wooden horses, scourges with steel points, iron hooks, fire, flaming blades, wild beasts, and other instruments of cruelty; all these, I say, were put in use by this Barbarian against the Catholics, without distinction of condition, age, or sex; ladies even of the first quality were not exempted from these inhuman tortures. All Africa abounded with martyrs, who suffered with a resolution equal to that of the first christian heroes; and God likewise on his side wrought miracles on this occasion, that were not inferior to those, which he had done in favour of those primitive martyrs; one particular instance hereof he was pleased to shew in a manner, that had never been seen before, which both declared and most miraculously proved at the same time the divinity of his only son.

Cyrola, the false patriarch of the Arians, having invaded the bishoprick of Typasus in Mauritania, the inhabitants of that city bore so great an aversion to him, that the major part of them quitted the country, and set out to sea in order to retire to some other part. Nevertheless he used his utmost endeavours to persuade the remainder of the people both with prayers or threatnings to be rebaptised, and profess Arianism; but he found them so stedfast; that, far from complying with his request, they disdained him; and, having upbraided him with his impiety, they left him in the Churches which he had seized, attended only by the ministers of

(l) Gregor. Tur. l. 2. Hist. Franc. c. 3.

(m) Vict. l. 3.

his.

A.D. his rage, whilst they repaired to other places in order to celebrate
 484. the holy mysteries, and sing openly the praises of JESUS CHRIST
 consubstantial with his Father. This impious man being enraged to
 see himself thus affronted, as he thought, made his complaint to
 Hunnericus, at which this Tyrant was so highly incensed against
 those holy people, that he immediately sent his officers to Typa-
 fus, with orders to cut out the tongues even to the root, and the
 right hands of all those who would refuse to become Arians. This
 cruel order was executed with more barbarity than it was given;
 and as they all came in crouds to receive their martyrdom, this
 bloody execution was performed indifferently on people of all con-
 ditions, tho' nevertheless it did not prevent the divinity of JESUS
 CHRIST from being loudly proclaimed. For after their tongues
 were cut out, they cried more distinctly and with a stronger voice
 than ever, saying, that JESUS CHRIST was true GOD, and thus
 gave a testimony of it, in a manner which was so much the more
 divine, in that nature, in the condition they were in, could no wise
 have assisted them in the doing it. (*n*) What gave an addition to
 this miraculous work was, that a young man who was born dumb,
 tho' at the same time he had a tongue which he had never had the
 use of, began to speak like the rest as soon as his tongue was cut
 out; and to the end that this miracle, which had no other wit-
 nesses but the executioners of Hunnericus's cruelty, should not be
 contested, and that it might be known to the whole world, (*o*) these
 wonderful confessors of JESUS CHRIST spoke ever afterwards dur-
 ing life upon all subjects in this manner without their tongue, ex-
 cepting two only, who, having sometime after fallen into the sin
 of incontinency, were deprived of this grace, and became utterly
 dumb. For GOD had decreed that so great a miracle, which he
 had performed in behalf of his son, who was the infinite pure pro-
 duction of his knowledge, should have no effect on the person of
 those who razed his image out of their hearts by the impurities of
 their body.

Now this is not one of those imaginary wonders, or fables, nor
 any of those deceits, or subtle illusions which your too credulous

(*n*) Marcell. in Chron.

(*o*) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Vandal. c. 8.

people are apt to take for miracles. For there are so many undeniable witnesses who assure it, not only upon the credit of those that saw it, as hath done St. Gregroy the great, (p) but upon having seen it themselves, and enquired into the matter with all the strictness imaginable at Constantinople, where several of those Saints had retired, that it is impossible to disown it without purposely and impudently belying those men whose veracity is incontestable. Victor of Utica, who was then on the place, wrote some time after concerning it, wherein he says, that if any one cannot easily believe it, he desires him to take a journey to Constantinople in order to be confirmed in it by his own Eyes, because he may there see the Deacon Reparatus, who speaks perfectly well, without his Tongue, and is for that reason in great honour at the Court of Zeno, and particularly esteemed by the Empress Ariadne, (q) who even pays him a kind of religious veneration. The Emperour Justinian, who was then at that court, declares that he himself saw those venerable men, who gave a plain account of their martyrdom without any tongue. Procop the historian (r) who was a man of undeniable honour, and who served in that Emperour's army with great reputation, that in his time he saw several of them at Constantinople, who could talk with a great deal of freedom. Æneas of Gaza a Platonick philosopher, (s) who has given us an excellent dialogue upon the immortality of the soul, and who flourished in those days, says in this work which was written under the name of Axitheus, that being invited thither by the report of so wonderful a thing, he was resolved to see with his own eyes, and examine these miraculous men, and having caused them to open their mouths, he found that their tongues were cut out to the root, and that nevertheless they talked freely and distinctly, and gave him a perfect account of the whole affair. So many great men all agree in the same thing, and give testimonies of it in their publick writings, and undoubtedly would have been convicted of falsity by a prodigious number of the inhabitants of Constantinople, had they been so impudent as to aver publickly that they had seen a thing in that city which had never happened. Now after this I cannot well conceive that any

(p) Dialog. l. 2. c. 32. (q) Constitut. de Offic. P. Præt. Afric. Niceph. l. 17. c. 11. (r) Lib. 1. de bell. Vand. c. 8. (s) Tom. 5. Bibl. P. P.

A. D. man of common sense would say that he did not give credit to it.

484. But in short this persecution was too violent to continue long. GOD declared his wrath against it, and severely punished the Vandals, by the famine and plague which destroyed, and were the forerunners of a war, which he had designed for their utter extermination, and in the mean while, he shortened the days of Hunnericus, (*t*) who died in the same year of a most horrible kind of disease, being eaten up alive by worms, which issued out of all the parts of his body; he tore his flesh to pieces with his own teeth, and at last became his own executioner, after having put to death an infinite number of martyrs, in order to restore Arianism, and, what is particular, he died like the impious Arius, (*u*) whose bowels fell from him whilst he was yet living. He was succeeded by Gondabond the eldest of his nephews, whom he had banished from his court, and who, in hatred to his uncle that had used him so ill, at first restored peace to the church, (*x*) and called home all those whom he had sent into banishment. But some years after being led away by his cruel and barbarous inclinations, he renewed the persecution against the Catholics.

A. D. During this interval of time (*y*) many of the priests and lay-men, having been seduced by fair promises, or terrified by fears and tortures, had submitted to be re-baptized, and being desirous to be received again into the church, they applied themselves for this purpose to Felix the third, then bishop of Rome, (*z*) who on this account called a council of thirty eight bishops, wherein such penances were ordered to be inflicted on every one, as were suitable to the nature and circumstances of their crimes before they could be re-admitted to the communion. Thus the church of Rome acted freely with respect to spiritual affairs, even under the government of Odoacerus, who, tho' he was an Arian, did no ways concern himself with matters of religion. But his good fortune, which had continued till then, according to the prediction of St. Severinus, was at last destroyed by a more powerful Arian than himself. This

(*t*) Victor. 1. 3.

(*u*) Greg. Tur. Hist. 1. 2. c. 3. *Isid. in hist. Vand.*

(*x*) *Isid. ibid.*

(*y*) Procop. 1. 1. c. 8.

(*z*) Conc. Rom. Sub.

Fel. 1. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris.

was Theodoricus king of the Ostrogoths, who became master of Rome about that time. A. D.
487.

This prince, notwithstanding the peace which Theodemirus his father had made with the Emperour, being desirous to make himself agreeable to the Ostrogoths, who could acquire no riches but by means of a war, (a) invaded from time to time the imperial provinces, and caused great devastations throughout the country. Zeno, in order to bring him over to his interest, paid him all the honours imaginable. He first made him general of his forces, and gave him that part of Dacia which was adjacent to the Danube, with part of the lower Mysia, and at last conferred on him even the dignity of consul, which he held with Venantius in the year four hundred and eighty four. (b) But seeing that all these favours could not prevent this fierce nation from often rising up in arms, (c) having even fired and ransacked Thracia, up to the very gates of Constantinople, he found means artfully to remove such dangerous neighbours who in the midst of peace became his enemies when ever they had a fancy to satisfy themselves with plunder. In order to complete his design, as he was well acquainted with the dispositions of Theodoricus, who was full of ambition, and fond of great undertakings, he took an opportunity, whilst the Goths were peaceably inclined, and proposed to him the conquest of Italy, then in the possession of the Eruli, (d) who had usurped it from the Empire. He told him that as he was Emperour of the Romans he had an undoubted right to Rome and to all Italy, and that he could dispose of it as he thought proper; But that having the same value and affection for him, as if he were his own son, he would be highly pleased to acknowledge him for his colleague, and therefore would call him to the Empire, provided he would drive out the usurper. It was no difficult matter for Zeno to give away what he had not in his possession, tho' at the same time it was an advantage to him that That Theodoricus would accept his offer, by which means he might be delivered from a troublesome neighbour, and procure to himself a most powerful friend at a very small expence.

(a) Marcell. in Chron.

(b) Marcell. in Chron.

(c) Idat.

(d) Procop. de bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 1. Paul. Diac. in Miscell. l. 15.

- A. D.* 488. Theodoricus whose sentiments were noble, and who had the soul of a Roman, being of opinion that nothing could be more glorious for him, and for his nation, than to be placed on the throne of the ancient Cæsars, and preside over Rome, (*e*) very readily accepted the proposal; and after having returned his humble thanks to Zeno, to whom he promised whatever he required of him, he easily persuaded his Ostrogoths to follow him with their wives and children, into the finest country in the world. He therefore quitted Pannonia, and marched along the river Savia, till he came to the head of it, where he entered Italy by (*f*) the Carniolan Alps, and fixed his camp in the province called Frioli, upon the borders of the river Sontius, in order to refresh his forces. But his incampment there was not very long. (*g*) For Odoacerus, who was come to meet him with an army, tho' too late to prevent him from passing the Alps, challenged him to battle, which he accepted. And hereupon Theodoricus fought with so much courage and conduct, that he soon routed the whole army of the Eruli; (*h*) *A. D.* 489. then pursuing Odoacerus, who had made his retreat towards the river Athesis, he defeated the remainder of his troops, in a second engagement which he gave him in the plains of Verona. After these two victories, having wintered his army in so plentiful a country, he marched with his forces, and gave battle for the third time to Odoacerus, who was incamped near the river Adda. Fortune still continued to be favourable to him at this juncture; for he defeated his enemy, who retired to Ravenna, where, in spite of his perverse fortune, he behaved with all the courage and resolution imaginable, and held out the siege for the space of three years; (*i*) making continual sallies by night, till at last Theodoricus, who had no naval forces to prevent Odoacerus from receiving succours by sea, having no hopes of forcing the place, agreed to make peace with him upon condition that they should both reign jointly together in Italy. But it has been seldom seen that ambition could long be easy under this dividing of Empire. *A. D.* 490. Theodoricus having entred Ravenna, according to the Treaty, (*k*) at 493. first lived pretty well, at least outwardly, with Odoacerus. But whe-

(*e*) Jorn. de reb. Get. c. 57. (*f*) Carniola. (*g*) Silonze Jorn. c. 57.
 (*b*) Cassiod. L'Adiret. (*i*) Cassiod. Jornaud. Procop. (*k*) Procop. l. 1.

ther he had discovered that Prince was carrying on some secret design against him, or whether he laid hold on this occasion to colour over a very wicked action, and induce the world to believe that he had only been beforehand with his enemy; however it might be, a few days afterwards, having invited Odoacerus to an entertainment, (l) he had the unfortunate Prince cruelly massacred; who having no mistrust, by his frankness, plain enough shew'd, he had no thoughts of surprising Theodoricus. But at length, as the dead no longer had it in his power to prove his innocence, so the world was willing to believe the living, who was the stronger, to be in the right. Thus the Romans, and the Eruli themselves, who were at Ravenna, and afterwards all Italy, acknowledged Theodoricus, who resolved to take upon him no other Title than that of King, as Odoacerus had done.

After this, he shewed plainly that if he had till then appeared a great captain, he was still a greater politician. For the more strongly to establish himself in his new dominions, he endeavoured to gain the friendship of all the most considerable Princes then reigning in the world. He had already treated with the Vandals during the siege of Ravenna, (m) and afterwards gave his sister Amalfreda to Torismond their King. Tho' he was master of Italy, he entered into alliance with the three princes who held the Empire of the Gauls. (n) He gave his two natural daughters, one to Alaric, King of the Visigoths, and the other to Sigismund son of Gondeband, King of the Burgundians; and as Clovis (o) the French king was every day gaining ground on the Gauls; he demanded his sister Andolfeda for a wife; and he obtained her, because it was of consequence to the reputation of the French, that a king, in possession of the Empire, should think himself honoured by an alliance with them.

Anastasius had succeeded Zeno in the Empire of the East. He sent ambassadors to him to desire a peace, and the honour of his friendship, and so artfully gain'd him by flattering letters, (p) and feigned submissions, by offering always to act in concert with him, as if they both govern'd but one Empire, that it is highly

(l) Cassiod. (m) Cassiod. (n) Procop. de Bell. Vandal. (o) Jorn. c. 58.
(p) Aim. l. 2. c. 1. (q) Cassiod. Ep. 1. ad Anast.

A. D. 494. probable that it was particularly in favour of Theodoricus, that Anastasius, who otherwise was a heretick of more than one sect, (r) gave a toleration to the Arians, and allowed them a great deal of liberty at Constantinople. Indeed, after that time we find that they there had both Churches, and a bishop named Deuterius, to whom happened a strange accident, which contributed more than ever to discredit those hereticks. (s) For as that wicked wretch was going to baptize one whose name was Barbarus, he, according to the custom of some new Arians, changed the form of baptism instituted by JESUS CHRIST, and said: *Let Barbarus be baptiz'd in the name of the Father, thro' the Son, in the Holy Ghost*, and in the very instant the water in the Font vanished, which so frightened this poor profelyte of the Arians, that he immediately ran out of the church, and went and published the miracle all over the city. It is even said, that a learned orthodox Bishop, not being able to reduce an obstinate disputant, who was always using his false philosophical subtilties to support Arianism, ordered a great fire to be made, and proposed to him, that, without longer amusing himself with philosophical disputations, they should both go into the fire, which would be a sensible and convincing proof of his faith, who should come out of it without being burnt. The Arian refused to accept of this condition, or to put his sect to so dangerous a proof. But the orthodox Bishop animated by a great confidence which he had in God, who inspired him with this action, went courageously into the fire, and from the midst of the flames began to preach to the standers by, the Divinity of the Son of God, which he prov'd by this miraculous argument, to which the Arian was able to make no reply. But Anastasius, hardened in his heresies, was not moved by it, (t) no more than he had been some years before, by the terrible punishment of Olympius, another Arian, who having blasphemed the holy Trinity in the publick baths, to the great scandal of all Catholicks, was no sooner got into the cold bath, than he began to cry out sadly that he was burning. And indeed, he was taken out so consum'd, that notwithstanding all the assistance they could give him, his flesh falling off from his bones, he soon after expired in

(r) Cedren. (s) Theod. lect. Collect. l. 2. Theoph. Cedren. (t) Damasc. Grat. 3. de imagin.

the most excessive torture. Such was the Emperor, with whom Theodoricus entered into alliance, and who permitted the Arians again to establish themselves at Constantinople. A. D. 494.

After this, one would have said that Arianism, protected by so many powers, and supported by such strong alliances, was going to triumph in the West, and chiefly among the Gauls, and in Italy, where all the princes were Arians, except the French king, who was a heathen; but God disposed affairs otherwise, for Theodoricus, who was a prince extremely politick, (*u*) did not pique himself upon a false zeal for the advancement of his Arian sect, about which he gave himself very little trouble, being in all probability very indifferent in matters of Religion. He not only reigned many years at Rome, in a manner no way inferior to that of the greatest and wisest of the Roman Emperors, but likewise would not suffer the Catholicks to be molested, whom he made use of in employments of the greatest consequence in his kingdom. He even always, till a little before his death, heartily and sincerely supported the authority, rights, and liberty of the Church of Rome, even to the extinguishing a dangerous schism by his presence in a legitimate council at Rome, and even to the causing Odoacerus's ordinance to be abolished, which decreed that a Pope could not be chosen without the king's consent. (*x*) It is also said that he did an action which made a great noise, and which gave all the Catholicks at Rome as much assurance, as it took away from the Arians the hopes of spreading their heresy. For, as one of his officers, for whom he had some esteem, from a Catholick which he had been before, was turn'd Arian, thinking thereby to advance himself in his favour; this prince, far from looking upon himself as obliged by this change, ordered him to be beheaded, saying that he who had so basely betray'd the faith he owed to God, could never be faithful to his King. And as to the Gauls, these alliances which Theodoricus had made with the Arian Kings, and with Clovis, who was still a heathen, did not hinder God by a miracle of his power, from making use of this French King, in order at length to destroy the forces of Arianism there: And we must now see how so wonderful a thing was effected.

(*u*) Procop. l. 1. c. 1. (*x*) Theod. l. 2. Niceph. l. 16. c. 35. Cedren.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A R I A N I S M.

B O O K X.



THE Eastern Empire was groaning under the shameful *A. D.*
yoke of Anastasius, an heretick of the Eutychian and *494.*
Accphalian sects; and the Western, divided into several Kingdoms by strangers who had conquered the Romans, was reduced under the power of Kings, either Arians, or Heathens, when God resolved again to establish the Church, and deliver his people from the tyranny of Arianism, by beginning this important work with the conversion and victories of the great Clovis. This prince, now in the thirtieth year of his age, and fifteenth of his reign, had made a considerable conquest by defeating the remains of the Romans under Syagrius then reigning at Soissons and the Thuringians:
But

A. D. 494. But still he put off the accomplishment of the promise he had made to queen Clotilda when he married her, to embrace the law of JESUS CHRIST whom she adored. (a) The extreme danger he was in upon the day of the battle of Tolbiac near Cologne brought his promise fresh into his mind, and obliged him to make a vow to keep it, if the God of Clotilda should assist him on that occasion. Victory ensued upon his vow, and his conversion was the consequence of his victory. After being fully instructed by several godly bishops; (b) and especially by St. Remi archbishop of Rheims, he was baptized by him, who caused him to make profession of the catholic faith, and particularly of the mystery of the holy trinity, against the Arian heresy, which the Visigoths maintained in a great part of the Gauls, (c) which they held on the other side the Loire. After which he baptized him in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which the Arians did not at that time. For at first they baptized in the name of the three persons of the Trinity, keeping to the form which the Catholics used. Wherefore the Church held their baptism valid, but not that of the Paulianists, and Photinians, who absolutely denied the Trinity. But after the Arians thought that this form, instituted by Jesus Christ himself, too clearly expressed the equality of the three persons, which they denied, they altered it, as they had done the doxology, and baptized in the name of the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost.

Above three thousand French of the king's army at the same time received the same benefit, the rest soon followed. Albofleda, one of his sisters, who was baptized at the same time with him, (d) died soon after her being baptized: and the other, named Lautilda, abjured Arianism with which she had been unfortunately infected, this heresy insensibly spreading it self by the intercourse there was with the Arian Visigoths and Burgundians. St. Remi endeavoured to comfort Clovis on the death of his sister, by a beautiful letter, which we have remaining from amongst the works of this

(a) Greg. Tur. 1. 2. c. 31. (b) St. Vast. Bp. of Arras. St. Solemme B. of Chalons. St. Medard B. of Soissons. (c) Greg. Tur. 1. 2. cap. 31. (d) Tom. 1. Concil. Gall. Tom. 4. Concil. Edit. Paris. ibid. Ado. in Chron. Martyr. Rom. 9. Feb.

great man: and we have that too, which the famous Alcimus Avitus Bishop of Vienna, the scourge and conquerour of the Arians of his time, wrote to him, with as much force and eloquence as piety, to congratulate him upon his so happy Conversion. A.D. 494.
497.

In the beginning of this letter he says, “that the choice he had made of the Christian Religion by rejecting the other sects, into which the hereticks had endeavoured to seduce him, was an excellent precedent for all nations to direct them to the belief they ought to embrace, as the only true one, and that the faith of which he had lately made profession, was an illustrious victory for the Catholicks over heresy. And after a very eloquent elogium upon his piety in his bap̄tism, which he tells us was on Christmas Eve, and not in Easter Eve, as had been hitherto believed on the testimony of Hinemarus, he adds, “that if he takes the freedom of exhorting him, it is not to cause the faith to encrease in him, for that he was perfect: nor christian humility, of which he had given such shining instances by his submission to the Church: nor compassion, nor clemency, since the captives he had set at liberty, so fully proved them to all the world: but that it was to conjure him in the name of God to take care of the conversion of other foreign nations not yet corrupted with heresy, that he would be pleased to draw from the treasure of his heart, the good grain of the faith, which he had received, and cause it to be scattered amongst those poor people, by sending them even ambassadors to that purpose, to the end that he might, to his utmost, encrease the kingdom of God, who had already so gloriously raised his own in the world.” This is part of the holy arch-bishop’s letter to Clovis. Pope Anastasius, who was but just entered upon his pontificate, at the same time sent him one, wherein he tells him, amongst other things, (e) “that the holy Church his mother was rejoiced at having spiritually begotten unto God so great a king, who would defend her against the attacks of all her enemies, and of those pestilent men, who were risen against her.

(e) Tom. 4. Concil. edit. Paris. Specileg. t. 5.

A. D. 497. I believe, that after these circumstances of Clovis's conversion and bap̄tism have appeared, it will not be taken amiss, if I demand of the present age and of posterity, (*f*) that they would do me justice upon that French writer, who has dared to question, whether Clovis at his conversion became a Catholick, or an Arian, as was the king of the Visigoths, and of Burgundy, whose niece he had married. For if that author was acquainted with the least part of what I have just now mentioned, he cannot avoid the charge of the blackest malice, in betraying truth wholly evident, by a sort of insincerity, not in the least pardonable. And if he was not acquainted with it, can it be denied to be an extream ignorance joined to as great a rashness, to have thus unworthily treated the memory of so great a prince, who acquired for his successors the glorious title of most christian, and eldest son of the church, by having been the first Christian and Catholick king.

And indeed, all the princes then reigning were without the pale of the church: and this holy mother of christians, who has children all over the earth, had not one on a throne. The emperor Anastasius was not only a heretick, but a persecutor of the Orthodox; Theodoricus at Rome and in Italy: Alaricus in the Narbonese Gauls, in Aquitain, and Spain; the Suevi in Galicia; the Burgundians in the Lionese Gaul, and along the Saône and the Rhône as far as Durance; Trasamond king of the Vandals, who had just succeeded to his brother Gondamond in Africa, were all Arians; and the other kings in Germany and Great Britain, were still wholly buried in idolatry; so that Clovis having been beyond dispute the first king, really christian and catholick, the first rank amongst Kings, and that illustrious title of eldest Son of the Church, cannot be denied the Kings of France, his august successors. This reflection is so essential to my subject, and so necessary to the history of Arianism, that I am not afraid of censure for lightly reprimanding this author, who certainly deserves a severer punishment for having so disrespectfully treated a truth so well backed by such a number of convincing proofs.

Clovis then being so happily converted to the christian and Catholick faith, resolved to make war upon the two other Arian

(*f*) Paquier in his *Recherotus de la France*.

kings, reigning in the Gauls, beginning with the Burgundian. The cause was just, and the pretence specious, Gondericus king of the Burgundians had left four sons heirs to his estates, Gondeband, Godegesil, Chilperic, and Godemar. Ambition which easily breaks tho' the strictest ties of nature, soon disunited the four brothers, and armed them against each other. The two last being assisted by the Germans their neighbours, conquered their elder brothers, and put them to flight, but Gondeband having surprised them at Vienna, at a time when they thought him dead, had Chilperic beheaded, his male-children killed, his wife thrown with a stone about her neck into the Rhone, and Godemar burnt in a castle whither he had escaped. The two daughters of Chilperic, Mucurune and Clotilda were preserved from this Barbarian's cruelty, who did not think he could reasonably be under any apprehensions from them. The eldest became a Nun, and Clotilda, who was as good a Catholick as her sister, was kept as a prisoner in the palace, so strictly was she guarded, and narrowly watched by her uncle's guards.

However, tho' the Burgundians professed Arianism, which the Goths had spread all over the barbarous nations, yet they suffered the Gaulish Catholicks under their government to live at peace, and the bishops exercised their office with as much liberty as they had done under the Roman Emperors. Nay, they even laboured to convert the Burgundians without any opposition, and Avitus, the holy arch-bishop of Vienna, endeavoured to convert king Gondeband. This prince, who had a great deal of wit, tho' a very wicked man, willingly heard him, and was so moved by his discourse, and convinced by the strength of his reasons, as freely to confess that in his heart he believed the equality of three persons of the trinity, and even to press him to reconcile him privately to the church. The holy man did what he could to induce him to make a publick profession of his faith. (g) He represented to him, "that the son of God protested in his gospel, that he would own before his heavenly father him who should own him before men, and that he would reject all such as should be ashamed of confessing

(g) Matt. 10.

him

A.D.
497.

A. D. 497. " him in publick. (b) That according to the divine Apostle we
 " believe with the heart to obtain justice, and with our mouth con-
 " fess what we believe to attain salvation. That he ought to imi-
 " tate that holy king, (i) who so often tells GOD, that he will con-
 " fess his holy name before all nations, and in the great assemblies
 " of his people. (k) That it were shameful for a great king, like him,
 " and who was so absolute in his state, to betray his conscience out
 " of fear. That it would be not only an obstacle to his salvation,
 " but to his glory too, to deny GOD what was due to him, for fear
 " of displeasing any of his subjects, who could not approve such an
 " action in him. That it was his duty to give the law, and not to
 " receive it, that his people ought to follow him, and not draw
 " after them: and that it was better for his subjects to embrace
 " the truth in following his example, as they did in war, than to
 " leave them to continue in error, by unworthily condescending
 " to their weakness.

These words, though they satisfied his judgment, yet they had not their proper effect upon him, but a worldly fear prevailed over the convictions of his mind. He was too wicked, and too cunning to become a sincere believer: And GOD leaving him to his own malice he till his death persisted, by a terrible obstinacy, to contend against the divinity of the son of GOD before men, (l) which he acknowledged in his heart. The holy bishop however did not lose courage. He often returned to the charge against this so hardened a heart, and still to make the greater impression on him, composed an excellent treatise against the Arian Heresy by way of dialogue, which he dedicated to him.

In short, during the war which Clovis made upon this miserable prince, and shortly before his entire ruin, Avitus made the last effort to bring him over in a conference the Catholics had with the false Arian bishops which was held by his consent, and in his presence at Lions. (m) The kings of Burgundy allowed the Catholick bishops so great a liberty, that those of the province of Lions met every year on the festival of St. Justus at his sepulchre, in

(b) Rom. 10.
 12. Sigismundo Gond. filio. Ado. in Chr.
 Ep. 58. and 59.

(i) Psal. 34.

(k) Psal. 56.

(l) Avitus Ep.

(m) Sidon. l. 5. Ep. 117. Avitus.

BOOK X.

The History of ARIANISM.

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A. D.

499.

order then to celebrate his memory, and afterwards treat of ecclesiastical affairs. The arch-bishop Stephen, (n) who had a mind to engage the Arians to a conference, being strongly solicited to it by St. Remi, took his opportunity when the king was at Lions and invited the bishops to be at this festival in as great a body as they could, to the end that under pretence of waiting on him to pay their complements together, this conference might be desired, as it were by accident, without any formed design appearing. The thing succeeded as he had imagined. Going all together to pay their duty to the king, who was at one of his country-houses, Avitus who had been chosen for their speaker, as he was very adroit, and eloquent, turned his discourse, very appositely, upon the peace of the church, which the king seemed to desire in his kingdom, and said very gracefully that he should be very glad to enjoy so great a blessing as soon as possible, if the king pleased: *For, my lord*, said he, we are all ready so clearly to demonstrate the truth of our faith by the gospel, and by the constant doctrine of the apostles, that there will no longer be any room to doubt our being in the true belief, and your being against God, and his church. Your majesty, who has such bright parts, and so good an understanding, may have the pleasure of informing your self in this matter in person, you have your bishops here, who are skillful men, and well instructed in all sorts of learning; be pleased only to command them to confer with us in your presence, and to “ observe whether they answer our reasons, as we are ready to “ give a satisfactory reply to whatever they may be willing or “ able to object to us. “ The king, who saw himself embarrassed with the war, which the French began to make upon him a little briskly, answered with chagrin; “ If yours be the true belief, how “ comes it that your bishops do not prevent the French king’s “ injustice, who has declared war against me, and made alliances “ with my greatest enemies, to ruin me? can the true faith be “ reconciled with a desire of seizing upon the possessions of another, and with that insatiable thirst which he shews for the

(n) Collat. Epif. coram rege Gundebal. ex Hist. Epif. Gall. Hieron. Vignerii Spicileg. to. 5. Tom. 4. Concil. Gall. Edit. Paris.

blood.

A. D. " blood of nations? Let him shew the genuineness of his faith by
499. " his works."

After these words from an Arian (for these are king Gondeband's, own words) can we ever doubt of Clovis's belief? Avitus answered with a holy liberty, together with an extream respect, " that they
" knew not the reasons why the French king made war upon
" him, but that they well knew, having learnt it from the scrip-
" ture, that GOD often pulls kings from their throne, who have
" abandoned his holy law, and that he raises enemies from all sides
" to those who have declared themselves his. But return, my
" lord, " added he, " return to GOD, with your people, and you
" will surely have a blessed peace over your kingdom, which GOD,
" who will be then on your side, will defend against the insults
" of your enemies. Why then, " replied the king, " do I not
" profess the true faith? You say I do not, because you are pleased
" to take it amiss that I do not worship three GODS as you do;
" yet I do not find in the scripture that there are more than one.
" GOD forbid, answered the bishop, that we should ever be
" guilty, either of imagining, or of uttering such a blasphemy.
" There is but one GOD in essence, but in three persons, which
" consisting but of one indivisible substance, can be but one
" divinity." Whereupon, as he had already more than once in-
structed the king in private on this great mystery, he had no great
trouble in informing him in the Catholick faith, touching the
unity of nature, which is reconcileable in GOD with the trinity
of the divine persons, of which the Son is consubstantial with the
Father, and the Holy Ghost with both. And as he saw he was
favourably heard by the king, who seemed pleased with the dis-
course, he enlarged with great strength and eloquence, on this sublime
subject: And on a sudden added, as by a divine enthusiasm, that
if his majesty had a mind to have this great truth explained, and
laid open before him, and all his people by a regular conference
with his bishops, he could assure him it might turn aside GOD's
wrath, which the enemies of his Son were going to bring down
upon the kingdom, and thereupon throwing himself at the king's
feet, embracing them, and weeping bitterly, he was immediately
followed by all the rest, who did the same, which drew tears from
the whole assembly.

The

The king was exceedingly moved at it, and stooping very low *A.D.* to raise him, answered with great humanity, that he would consider of what the bishop of Vienna had just been saying to him, and would soon let them know his pleasure. He did so the next day, when, being returned to Lions, he sent for archbishop Stephen and Avitus, whom he told that they had what they desired, that his bishops were very ready to shew them that nobody could be consubstantial with *GOD*; but that he would not have the conference held in publick, before all the people, to avoid confusion and disorder; that it should be held before the members of his council and some others whom he would appoint on his side; as he likewise promised them to chuse some of the members of the same on theirs, but in a small number, and that it should be held in his palace the very next day, which was the festival of St. Justus, being the second of September. The bishops, having returned the king their most humble thanks, went and informed their brethren, who, in order to be prepared for that celebrated day, passed the night at church in prayers at the tomb of St. Justus, to ask of *GOD*, by the intercession of his servants, the accomplishment of their desires, and the king's conversion. But at that very time there happened a melancholy presage, which plainly shewed them they would not be heard in the manner they intended. For as the reader, according to custom, was beginning the holy reading by the books of Moses, he happened upon those terrible words of Exodus: (o) "I will harden his heart, I will multiply my signs and wonders in Egypt, and he shall not hear you." When the psalms had been sung, he opened the book of Isaiah, (p) and there found what *GOD* says to his prophet: "Go, and thou shalt say unto this people; hear, and understand not; see, and comprehend not: blind the heart of this people, and stop their ears, and shut their eyes, lest they see, hear, or understand, and should thereupon be converted, and I should heal them." This very much surprised and astonished the bishops, but their astonishment still became greater, when, after singing some psalms, they heard read out of the gospels the reproach made by *JESUS CHRIST* to Chorazin

A. D. and Bethsaide, (*p*) and when upon reading the Epistle to the 499. Romans, (*r*) these astonishing words were found: "know ye not that the goodness of God inviteth you to repentance? But by your hardness and impenitence of heart, you heap up to yourselves a treasure of wrath against the day of vengeance." They saw plainly, by so surprising an accident as this, that God manifestly shewed, that the king's heart was hardened; and that God had abandoned him to make his justice shine out. The rest of the night passed in sighing, and bewailing the misfortune of this miserable prince; however, they prepared for the conference they were to enter upon: firmly to maintain the interests of the son of God against the Arians.

The hour then which the king had appointed them drawing on, all the bishops, together with many priests and deacons, and some catholicks of the court and city, and, amongst others, with Placidius and Lucanus, two of the chief officers of the army, proceeded to the palace, whither the Arians also came. When every one had taken his place, Avitus, who spoke for the Catholics, set forth the faith of the church, with so much force and eloquence, and proved it by so many passages from the scripture so convincing, and so fairly laid before them, that as great astonishment and confusion appeared amongst the Arians, as assurance and joy amongst the Catholics. And indeed, Boniface, the most learned of the Arians, whom that party had made choice of to support their cause, instead of a precise answer to what Avitus had advanced to prove the divinity of the son of God by testimonies from scripture, entered into a long, tedious, confused discourse, wherein he proposed by philosophical arguments, all the difficulties which human reason, not enlightened by faith, finds in the mystery of the trinity. When he had ended, Avitus replied, that philosophy was not the business at present, but faith arising from the word of God, and which, being above reason, is not however against it, whatever difficulty she could urge against it. Wherefore that he besought him to give a plain answer to what he had proposed; drawn from the scripture: and that after that, he promised him satisfaction, as to

(*g*) Matt. 11.

(*r*) Rom. 2.

what

he had advanced, according to the Maxims of philosophy. But *A.D.*
Boniface, finding himself pinched, instead of answering, fell into 499.
invectives, saying the Catholicks were idolaters, who held a plurality of Gods; and nothing more could be got from him. This was a direct confession of his weakness. Therefore the king, who perceived the perplexity his party was in, broke up the assembly, telling them that this was sufficient for that time; and that Boniface should answer the next day.

The Catholick prelates, very well pleased with this first skirmish, being returned to the palace the day after, met Aredius, one of the chief lords of the court, and a Catholick, but one who favoured the Arians, out of a servile complaisance to the king. The first thing he said to them was, that, as their humble servant, he advised them not to pursue their design, but go back: that these disputes were disagreeable to well-meaning persons: that they only sharpened peoples tempers; that no good could come from them: and for certain the king was not pleased with them. But the archbishop answered him, that an enquiry into truth, from a mere spirit of charity, in order to procure the salvation of his brethren, far from disturbing the peace, was the properest means of reuniting hearts by a perfect christian friendship, and that in short they were come by express command from the king. To which Aredius not daring to reply, they went in, and the king, as soon as he saw them, received them very graciously, and seating himself between the archbishop and Avitus, entertained them with what he had most at heart, the war which king Clovis was making upon him, of whom he complained extreamly, telling them that he solicited his own brother against him. The bishops answered, that there was no better method to have a peace with that king, than to embrace the faith he professed: and that if his majesty would be pleased to take that method, they eagerly offered themselves to negotiate the peace. But as the king made no answer to it, each went back to his place: and the bishop Avitus made an excellent discourse, wherein, in relation to Boniface's insisting, that the Catholicks worshipped many Gods, he shewed with so much solidity, prudence, and perspicuity, and in so agreeable and eloquent a manner, that they acknowledged but one God in the trinity of the persons,

A.D. that he was admired by the Arians themselves, who could not
499. help giving signs of their astonishment. They waited a long time, expecting something to the purpose from Boniface; but the king seeing the poor man (who knew not whereabouts he was,) did nothing but heap an infinite number of abusive words one upon another, crying out with all his might, so as to grow hoarse, and to be able to go no farther, he rose up hastily, looking with an ill eye on Boniface, shewing the contempt he had of his weakness, and his indignation at his manner of proceeding. Avitus, that he might make all the advantage that could be expected from so remarkable a victory, took all imaginable pains in order to oblige the king to reconcile himself to the church, seeing his bishops could make no answer. He went so far as to propose to him, by a sudden inspiration from GOD, that they should all, at that very instant, go in one body to St. Justus's tomb, and that each side should enquire of the saint which of the two was the true faith, and that by an internal motion which he felt within his soul, he took upon himself to assure his majesty, that GOD, to confirm the Catholick faith by a miracle, would order the saint to answer. But, tho' this prince was convinced, and tho, surprised by a proposal which promised him the sight of a miracle, he seemed to accept it; yet his fear of his subjects, and above all of his Arian bishops, who made a terrible outcry in the assembly, that recourse was had to magick and enchantments, to destroy the true belief, had so great an influence over his mind, that he had not the courage to proceed any farther. However, he could not help shewing the sentiments of his heart, and the violence he put upon himself by resisting truth so self-evident. For as he went out of the hall where the conference had been held, he took the arch-bishop by the hand, and having carried them into his chamber, tenderly embraced them, and conjured them to pray to GOD for him. But he in vain desired those two bishops to beg that of GOD for him, which he himself was resolved not to obtain. What was matter of consolation to the Catholicks was, that this example of the king had no influence on his subjects. For several Arians, having learnt what had passed at the conference, owned the falseness of their sect, and were converted; and after they had for a few days

days been prepared to receive the favour of baptism, were baptised according to the form of the church.

A. D.

499.

Such was king Gondeband, on whom Clovis was making war, not only for the sake of queen Clotilda, but to revenge the death of Chilperic and his wife, whom that king had inhumanly caused to be murdered, but also upon a secret correspondence which he had with Godegesil, who solicited him to enter Burgundy, and to rescue him from the oppression of his brother who molested him in the possession of his share. Gondeband, who was a stranger to this correspondence, seeing Clovis had declared war against him, pressed Godegesil to join with him, and oppose their common enemy. But he was extremely surprised, at the time the three armies were in view of each other before Dijon, to see that of his brother joined with Clovis against him. (r) This accident which he had not foreseen, so disconcerted him, that he fled towards the Rhône, almost without striking one stroke, and took refuge in Avignon, where Clovis, in pursuit of his design, having besieged him, he was at last forced to humble himself, and to sue for peace to Clovis, by making himself his tributary, and yielding up Vienna to his brother. But Clovis was no sooner retired into his own Territories than Gondeband went and laid siege to Vienna, (s) which he took by surprise by an aquaduct shewn him by one who had the care of it, and who had been turned out of the city with such people as they looked upon as useless. And poor Godegesil, having taken refuge during the hurry in a church belonging to the Arians, was killed there, together with the bishop of the sect, by the command of the Barbarian, who thus became the murderer and executioner of his three brothers. It is even reported, (t) that he caused all the French who were at Vienna in his brother's service to be massacred: But others affirm he only made them prisoners, and sent them to Alaricus, whom he knew to be the most dangerous and formidable enemy that Clovis had. However it might be, the treachery was too black; and the injury done to Clovis too remarkable, and of too high a nature, not to be revenged and punished by so great a king. Clovis therefore returned

500.

501.

(r) Greg. Turon. l. 2. c. 32.
c. 19. Greg. Tur. l. 12. c. 33.

(s) Greg. Tur. c. 33.

(t) Aim. l. 1.

into

A. D. into Burgundy with a strong army, (u) engaged Gondeband, and
 502. entirely defeated him without the assistance of Theodoricus king
 503. of the Ostrogoths, who had entered into an alliance with the French to have a share in the conquest. He afterwards easily made himself master of the whole kingdom; but at last, at the instance of Clotilda, he relinquished that part of it which is on the other side the Rhône (containing Savoy, Dauphine, and Provence, as far as Durance) to Segismund, Gondeband's son.

After so happy a conclusion of the Burgundian war, Clovis found himself in a condition to undertake that which he had long resolved upon, against the Visigoths. Many reasons obliged him to this attempt. The protection Alaricus generally gave to his enemies and rebels, the hatred and jealousy which that Prince on all occasions shewed against him, (x) the pains he took to raise him enemies on all sides, the ambuscade he had laid to surprise him at an interview: (y) The law of nations violated in the person of his ambassador, who had been treated with great indignity: But above all, the uneasiness Clovis was under to see the greatest part of the Gauls in the hands of the Arians. (z) For in an assembly of the principal of the French nobility which he called in order to propose the war to them, he told them plainly, he could not bear to see the avowed enemies of JESUS CHRIST reigning over the Gauls, and that they must rescue the remains of those people from so unworthy a slavery, by reducing them under their own Empire, to which they all unanimously consented. Besides, altho' Alaricus was not at all of his father Evaricus's humour, who cruelly persecuted the Orthodox; and tho' he suffered them to live unmolested, yet the Gauls, who were extremely zealous for the true religion, very impatiently bore to see themselves governed by those Arians, whom they abhorred above all other hereticks. And as they saw that Clovis, and, in imitation of him, all the French had embraced the Catholick faith which flourished under him; they most ardently wished to have him for their master. (a) Then they gave the Visigoths some jealousy who mistrusted them, and especially the most pious amongst the bishops, some of

(u) Procop. de bell. Got. l. 1. Paul. Æmil. (x) Aimoin. l. 1. c. 20. (y) Ibid.
 (z) Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 37. (a) Greg. Tur. c. 36.

whom

whom Alaricus himself banished, upon suspicion of holding a correspondence with the French, as amongst others St. Quintianus bishop of Rhodéz. And for the same reason, three or four years after St. Cæsarius arch-bishop of Arles was made a prisoner by the Goths, who accused him of intending to betray the city to the French, and were going to throw him into the Rhône, had not his innocence appeared by the discovery, and apprehending of the criminal.

All these reasons, with others respecting the state, and the desire of aggrandising himself, which is natural to conquering kings, determined for a war, for which Clovis made such vast preparations, that Theodoricus king of Italy took umbrage at it, fearing, should the Visigoths be defeated, lest the French, mortal enemies to the Arians, would fall upon him. (b) He did all he could, by remonstrances, by prayers, and even by threats, and by his Ambassadors to the rest of the kings of Germany, bordering upon the French, to divert Clovis from the war. But that prince, more exasperated than ever at those letters of the Ostrogoth, whose menaces he despised, and whose power he was not afraid of, far from laying down his arms, and referring himself to arbitrators, as Theodoricus demanded, sent Alaricus a defiance even into Thoulouse; offering him to make an end of their quarrel at the head of both their armies, to save the blood of their subjects, and to see to which of them God would give the victory, and determine the Empire of the Gauls. But Alaricus, who, tho' a man of great valour and courage, did not intend to fight but like a king with a powerful army, (c) refusing the challenge, accepted the war; and having drawn together all his forces, marched to make himself master of an advantageous post, where he kept within his camp which he had strongly fortified, waiting for a powerful assistance which Theodoricus had promised him.

In the mean while Clovis took the field, (d) in order to march directly against Alaricus, and one way or other to oblige him to fight, and perhaps both ways, if he could once bring him to an

(b) Cassiod. Var. l. 3. Ep. 2. 3. 4.

(c) Procop. de bell. Goth. l. 1.

(d) Hinc-

marus in vitâ St. Remig. Epist. Remig. ad Clodov. Tom. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris.

Hinc. in Vit. S. Remig. Epist. Clodov. ad Episcop. Tom. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris.

A.D. 505. engagement. Before he sat out, he received letters from St. Remi with his blessing, who promised him the assistance of Heaven; and that he might prepare himself by his actions to receive it, he, by queen Clotilda's advice, gave orders for the building a church to the holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, which is at this time consecrated to God in the memory of St. Genevieve. (e) He made admirable regulations for the preservation of order and discipline in his army, even to the putting to death a soldier, who had forcibly taken a few trusses of hay from a peasant near Tours, in the territory of St. Martin. He sent offerings to his shrine, by his intercession to implore help from God, (f) whom he himself besought that he would vouchsafe to give his deputies some happy omen of the victory he was in hopes of gaining; and as they were going into the church, they heard them singing this verse of the psalmist; (g) "Lord, thou hast surrounded me with strength, to make war: thou hast cast under my feet those who have risen against me; thou hast turned back my enemies, and thou hast utterly destroyed those that hated me." With so favourable a presage, the king passed the river Loire, and came to Vienna, which he forded by the means of a hind, that starting out of a wood at the noise of his army, had thrown herself into the river: this the soldiers took for an assurance that God himself took care to conduct them by extraordinary ways (h) After which, as the king, who found no enemy in the field, laid the country waste all around, Alaricus was at last constrained, by the complaints and murmurs of the Visigoths, to quit his entrenchments, and march to give the enemy battle, without waiting for the Ostrogoths.

Clovis was advanced towards Poitiers, where, as he had done before Tours, he forbade his soldiers to take any thing, intending by this to shew his respect to St. Hilarius, who in his time had been the great scourge of the Arians. (i) It is even said that he saw a bright flame rising out of the church of that holy bishop, which came and settled over his royal tent,

(e) Greg. Tur. l. 1. c. 37. Ibid.

(b) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Goth.

(f) Aimoin l. 1. c. 21.

(g) Psal. 17.

(i) Greg. Tur. c. 37. Aimoin, cap. 21.

whether

whether it was one of those flaming exhalations that are sometimes seen spreading in the air, and falling in the form of long trains of light, or whether there was really any thing extraordinary in it, whereby that holy conquerour of Arianism meant to promise him his assistance against the same enemies which he himself had formerly fought against, both with his tongue and pen, as this great king was going to do with his sword. Be that as it may, it is sure that it inspired the whole army with an extraordinary courage, who no longer doubted that heaven declared itself in their favour. Thus the French and Visigoths each severally desiring nothing more than to come to a battle, this great affair was soon decided. A. D. 505.

The two armies met five leagues from Poitiers, in the plain of Voclade, then so called, and which is between that city and Vienna. The forces were numerous on both sides, and their courage animated, not only by the desire of glory, and by the emulation that was between those two celebrated nations, but by the aversion too which difference in religion generally raises, and by the hatred which the two Parties, in imitation of their kings, had for each other. These two princes were both in the strength of their age, being each about forty years old, and tho' Alaricus whose reign had seldom been disturbed by wars, had neither the experience, the glory, nor the reputation which Clovis had acquired in so many wars, and by so many victories, yet he was brave, and might have pretended to the rank of the most valiant of his predecessors, had fortune thrown any other enemy than Clovis in his way. However, in drawing up their armies for the engagement, they neither of them neglected to improve what courage and ardor they already found in their men, by laying before them every motive that could induce them to behave well on this occasion, which was to decide the fortune of those two great kingdoms. Clovis animated the French, "by putting them
" in mind of the victories they had under his auspices gained
" over the Romans, the Burgundians, the Germans, and by the
" contempt they ought to have for the Visigoths, so long buried
" in idleness, having nothing remaining of the valour of their
" ancestors; but especially by the consideration of the glory they
would acquire on earth, and of that which they would secure

A.D. 505. " to themselves in heaven, should they rescue the Gauls from
 " the tyranny of the Arians, enemies of the true religion, which
 " themselves had embraced, and which the poor oppressed Gauls,
 " who stretched their hands out to the French, had no hopes of pre-
 " serving but by their means. Alaricus laid before them the
 " glory of their victorious nation over Pannonia, Thrace, Ma-
 " cedon, Illyrium, the Gauls, Spain, and Rome itself, whom she
 " had subdued to her Empire under the great Alaricus, whose
 " name alone, which he had the honour to bear, ought to be
 " an earnest of victory to them. He added, that after conquer-
 " ing so many nations, a single one could not so much as bear
 " up against their first efforts, if they fought with the same ar-
 " dour, as they had not long since demanded an opportunity of
 " fighting, and conquering; only let them follow him, and do
 " what they should see him do, and that then he would answer
 " for the victory.

Thereupon each side fell on courageously, and for some time they fought with equal hopes, the danger, and advantage being equal. Those of Auvergne, when Appolinarius, a relation of the bishop Sidonius, and a vassal to Alaricus, had brought to his aid, generously bore the first shock of the Van of the French; But when Clovis, who fought at the head of the main battle, came thundering with the troupes of his own guard upon Alaricus; he charged so furiously, being seconded by the French nobility, who after his example fought like so many lions, that having beat down the bravest and most resolute, who in vain opposed his fury, he forced the enemy to retire, and then pushed them so vigorously, without giving them time to rally, bearing down and killing every thing in his way, that at length they turned their back, and ran away in confusion. (k) The Visigoths who by the long peace they had enjoyed ever since Alaricus's death, were grown rather haughty than brave, first took flight, and almost all the Auvergnat auxiliaries with the flower of their nobility, (l) disdaining to run away as they had done, were cut in pieces. However Alaricus clearly made appear, that it was out of prudence only that he had endeavoured to defer the

(k) Greg. Turon.

(l) Marian. l. 5. c. 6.

battle: for in this engagement he performed every thing that could be expected from a great commander. He was every where, he gave the orders, he executed them himself, he encouraged his soldiers with his eyes, his motions, his voice and hand by his own example: and when he saw they every where gave way, and yielded to the fury of the French, and that the Visigoths every where lost ground, he ran himself to the colours, in order to stop them; he forced such as were running away to turn again, and rallied his troops, in order to bring them back to the fight.

It was then that Clovis perceiving him, and knowing him by his behaviour, and the beauty of his gilt armour, performed a memorable action, and worthy of a hero. For tho' he had it in his power to conquer without danger, and to dissipate with ease that remnant of an army, which the shame alone of deserting a king, made still to deliberate whether they should fly or fight, yet he scorned to make use of his advantage, but riding forward a good distance before his troops, he called to Alaricus both with his voice and his hand, and defies him to a single combat. Alaricus, who plainly saw all was lost, if he had not recourse to those means, which fortune and Clovis's bravery offered him the only means to raise again by killing his enemy, spurred on immediately full speed against him with his lance couched. Clovis, on his side, did the same, and at first gave his enemy so violent a shock, as stretched him upon the ground. At that instant two Visigoths leaving their ranks, so rudely assaulted the king, striking both on the right and left, that had it not been for the goodness of his armour and the valiant Clo-
dericus, who threw himself upon those infamous wretches, he had been in danger of his life, at the same moment he was depriving his enemy of it; for immediately dismounting, he plunged his sword thro' the extremities of the armour into Alaricus's body, just as he was rising sword in hand to renew the combat.

The battle being ended, Clovis, who knew how to make the best use of victory, as well as to conquer, divided his army into two bodies. One part he gave to Thierry his natural son, who marching on the right to the east, easily reduced Auvergne, and the rest of the provinces as far as Languedoc to the

A. D. king's obedience. As for himself, having reduced all Poitou, (*m*)
 505. which surrendred without resistance, he marched to the left, entered Aquitain, made himself master of Bordeaux, about two leagues from thence, in the Lands defeated another army of of the Visigoths, composed of such as gaurded that province, and those who had escaped from the battle of Poitiers, or Voclade; received the submissions of all the cities of Novempopulania, now Gasgogne, and was at last received into Toulouse, where he seized upon the treasures of the Visigoth kings. After which, having sent Thierry his natural son, to take in Carcasson, he returned thro' Aquitain, and as he was beginning the siege of Angouleme, where the remainder of the Visigoths of the province had shut themselves up, resolved upon a vigorous defence, a great part of the walls suddenly falling, the army, which took this favourable and wonderful accident for a miracle, (*n*) entred the town thro' that breach, which God had made for them, put most of the Goths to the sword, and in compassion turned out the rest. At last, having no more enemies to fight against, and every thing being reduced, he repassed the Loire, and came to Tours, in order to pay his vows in the church of St. Martin.

507. It was there he received ambassadors from the emperour Anastasius, who, to honour his merit, and gain the friendship of a prince, whose reputation over the earth, and who might be useful to him, sent him the ensigns of Consul and Senatour, (*o*) with the imperial Diadem woven with gold, and covered with pearls, which Clovis received in ceremony, as an instance of the friendship of so great a prince, who courted his alliance, and treated him with the title of emperour. (*p*) And indeed, after that time, the king always had the title of August given him. It was then too that having settled the empire of the French upon so firm a footing in the Gauls, they began to call it France. (*q*) After this Clovis came to Paris, which he pitched upon from amongst all the rest of the cities, tho' then larger, to be the seat of it, as if he had foreseen the grandeur and majesty in which we at at this day see this capital of the French;

(*m*) Greg. Turon. l. 2. c. 38. Aimoin. l. 1. c. 21. 22.

22. Greg. c. 37.

(*o*) Greg. c. 38.

(*p*) Greg. Ibid.

(*n*) Aimoin. c.

(*q*) Greg. Ibid.

and whereas that it was then almost upon the Frontiers, the day should come when it should be the heart of France, by the victories of another Louis, who should, in one campaign, push his conquests as far as the ocean which washes Holland. But at the same time, to shew he had been fighting for God, and for the faith of the Church of Rome, against the Arian heresy, (r) he sent a crown of gold to Rome to be consecrated to JESUS CHRIST the true God, at the shrine of the Apostles. A.D. 507.

In the mean while the Visigoths, soon after the loss of the battle acknowledged Gisalicus, natural son of Alaricus, for king, because his legitimate son Amalaricus, grandson to Theodoricus king of Italy, was but five years old. This new king having passed the Rhône, threw himself hastily into Languedoc, which king Evaricus had conquered; (s) but as he was mean-spirited and cruel, and as besides Theodoricus was dissatisfied with their setting up a king in prejudice to his grandson, he did not remain long on the throne. For, Theodoricus who had been making ready, tho' slowly, to go to the assistance of Alaricus, in a short time compleated his preparations, passed the Alps with a powerful army of fourscore thousand men, without any trouble made himself master of provence, passed into Languedoc where he raised the siege of Carcasson: and the French having fortified themselves in Aquitain, (t) where he did not dare to attack them, he left them wholly unmolested: after that caused his grandson Amalaricus to be declared king, to whom he resigned the lower Languedoc, he kept Provence to himself; and took care of Amalaricus's territories, in the quality of guardian: leaving in his room Theudis an Ostrogoth nobleman for governour, who, after the young king's decease, seized on the kingdom of the Visigoths.

Thus the greatest part of the Gauls was rescued out of the hand of the Arians by the great Clovis, who left his children little to do towards the accomplishment of so glorious an enterprize, and of so much importance to the glory of JESUS CHRIST. But yet, as it was impossible but the church of France must have suffered much during this oppression, and great abuses have crept in amidst the confusion of so many wars, the king, by St. Remi's advice, re-

(r) Hincmar. in vita S. Remig. Procop. de bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 12. (b) Ibid. in Chron. (t) Procop. ibid.

A. D. 511. solved (*u*) that the Bishops of his ancient dominion on this side the Loire, and of that which he had lately conquered on the other side of the same river, should meet at Orleans, as in the centre of the two parts of his kingdom, to rectify all disorders, upon the articles themselves and heads which he had taken the pains to propose to them. (*x*) The fathers thus assembled, writing to him to commend the zeal he had shewn in the advancement of the Christian religion, in the superscription of that letter gave him the glorious title of son of the holy Catholick church. After which, in answer to all the king's articles, (*y*) they send him the thirty one canons which they had composed for a Rule to the Churches, whereby, amongst other things, they ordain that such clerks as shall sincerely abjure Arianism, and lead a life agreeable to their profession, may be admitted by the bishops to any of the ecclesiastical orders, whereof they shall be by them thought capable, first receiving imposition of their hands; and that those churches which such Goths as had been Arians had employed and prophaned by the exercise of their heresy might be made use of by the Catholics, being again consecrated and blessed by the bishops.

This council was purely for reforming abuses, and drawing up rules for ecclesiastical government, according to the king's desire; but another was held for matters of faith, and the confounding of Arianism, tho' the time and place of it are uncertain. (*z*) What we are very sure of is, that, among so many Catholick prelates as came to this assembly from all parts of the Gauls, there was one of those Arian bishops, who had had the government of some churches under Alaricus, and that God wrought a miracle on him, which contributed more to confirm the faith, than all the most learned and subtil discussions could have done. This Arian, who was extremely proud, and a great sophist, challenged all the Fathers to dispute: and trusting much to his philosophical arguments, which he thought invincible, boasted with insupportable pride and arrogance, that he would confound the most skilful among them, and that he would reduce him to that degree, as not to be able to answer him,

(*u*) Hincm. in vita S. Remig.
Paris. Tom. 1. Concil. Gall.
S. Remig. Flodoard. l. 1. Hist. Eccles. c. 16. Tom. 1. Conc. Gall. 4. Concil. Edit. Paris.

(*x*) Concil. Aurel. 1. Tom. 4. Conc. Edit.
(*y*) Can. 10.

(*z*) Hincm. in vita

and put him to silence out of shame. Tho' there were several very learned men met, to be present at the council, yet they had so much respect for the great St. Remi, whose learning was as famous among men as his piety, that they would not permit the matter to go any further, till he came. As he came later than the rest, and was entering the assembly, where the fathers were already waiting, all the bishops rose in honour to him, except the Arian, who looking at him with a haughty and scornful air, did not vouchsafe to stir, to pay him a regard which civility and decency alone required. But as the saint was passing by him, the insolent man found himself of a sudden struck by a secret and invisible power, which upon the spot deprived him of the use of speech, without any one's preceiving it. The saint in the mean while taking his place, made an admirable discourse, wherein, as he was profoundly learned in the knowledge of the scripture, and a great master in the art of reasoning, he proved the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and the mystery of the trinity, with so much strength, by the principles of the faith which he had laid before them, that it was not doubted but this Arian philosopher, who boasted of perplexing others, would soon be found in a great perplexity himself, and all present were preparing, with pleasure, to hear his answer. But they were exceedingly surprised to see that being got up in order to answer, still imagining that by making an effort he should be able to speak, they saw he several times in vain opened his mouth, and that remaining in this sad condition, quite stunned and speechless, he did not bring out one word, and they were much more surprised, when the poor man, so visibly finding the hand of GOD upon him, went and threw himself at St. Remi's feet, and melting into tears, by his gestures and signs begged of him to pity his calamity, making him and the whole council plainly enough understand by such sensible expressions, that GOD had struck him dumb, as a punishment for his crime, and his insolence. Upon this, the saint who clearly saw what so wonderful a blow had wrought in the soul of this bishop said to him with a becoming majesty and confidence in GOD: "In the name of our lord JESUS CHRIST, the true son of GOD, if thou really hast the sentiments, that man ought to have of his divinity, speak, and openly confess that which the

A. D. "the Catholick church believes concerning it." This powerful
 511. voice of St. Remi, animated by the spirit of GOD, who spoke, and operated by his mouth, immediately restored both voice and speech to that bishop, who from a proud and obstinate Arian, was become an humble and submissive Catholick. He publicly confessed the trinity of the divine persons, inseparable, and most distinct, in a perfect unity of essence and nature. By this signal confession, he restored to the son of GOD the glory he would have robbed him of, by the blasphemies of his heresy, and protested he would be as constant and firm till death, in professing this truth before all the world, as he had till then been obstinate in maintaining the error and impiety of Arianism, which he condemned with all his heart.

After this, it is not known what was done in this council; but sure it is that this great event was a decision, which had more effect in it than many canons and decrees would have had, towards rooting out this heresy from amongst the Gauls, to which Clovis had given the mortal blow by his victory, and which he absolutely put an end to and destroyed, by the care he took of the Church. And indeed, GOD resolved to crown him soon after. For he died at Paris the same year he had caused this first council of Orleans to meet, in the fortyfifth year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign, leaving France divided amongst his four sons, Thierry, Clodomir, Clothaire, and Childebert, who enlarged it with the Remains of the kingdom of Burgundy, already become Catholick under king Sigismund.

This prince, to whom Clovis had left a part of Gondeband's kingdom, (a) had taken the title of king after his father's death, whom sometime after his losses died without honour amongst the Ostrogoths. As the son's soul was entirely different from that of the father, the holy bishop of Vienna, Avitus, who had so long in vain laboured for the conversion of the latter, soon had reason to comfort himself of the son, whom he found well disposed to receive the fine instructions he gave him. So that being fully persuaded by the reasons he had so strongly and so clearly laid before him at the conference of Lions, (b) and by the excellent

(a) *Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 5. Sigebert. in Chron.*

(b) *Ado Vierun. in Chron. things*

things he still was saying to him every day, to convince him of the truth of the Catholick faith, he solemnly renounced Arianism; and the Burgundians, of whom the king his Father had been so much afraid, as not to dare generously to profess the truth he was convinced of, far from taking it ill, all followed his example, and became Catholicks. For besides that this people had never been strict professors of Arianism, which they only followed from a national engagement, the commerce they had carried on with the Gauls, who were suffered to live unmolested in the exercise of the true religion, had in a great measure fitted them for that happy change, which is wrought from error to truth, in imitation of a king; since it is but too often seen, that the single example of princes, who pass from truth to error, can easily enough draw their people into the same ruin. In short, Sigismund, with the gift of faith, received the principles of the Christian virtues, which he learnt from the lessons which St. Avitus gave him, by whose advice he had a council assembled at Epaone, a town or borough not now known by that name, and which probably might be some where near the Rhône, in the lands belonging to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Vienna, (c) for it was Avitus that called, and presided at that council. Forty canons were made for the regulation of church-discipline, (d) and there appeared so great an abhorrence of Arianism in them, that it was not thought that such churches as had been built by the Arians, could be sufficiently purified, so as to serve for sacred uses: And it was resolved that such only as had been taken by violence from the Catholicks should be reconsecrated. But all these excellent qualities of Sigismund, and all these virtues were obscured by an horrid crime, which the wickedness of a mother in law, and jealousy of state, made him commit.

He had married one of the queen's daughters, after the death of that princess his wife the daughter of king Theodoricus. (e) This new queen, not being able to bear the contempt of prince Sigericus, son of the deceased, so prepossessed her husband that That prince was endeavouring to come at his crown by parricide, that without far-

(c) Tom. 1. Conc. Gall. Tom. 4. Concil. Edit. Paris.
Tur. 1. 3. c. 6. Aimoin. 1. 2. c. 3.

(d) Can. 33. (e) Greg.

- A.D.* ther examining into a thing of that consequence, he had him
 526. strangled in his sleep. He had no sooner committed so wicked an action, than opening his eyes, which his passion had shut, he was convinced of the enormity of so horrible a crime, which he wore out by a long and very severe repentance in the famous monastery of Agaunum, (*f*) which he had built and endowed for the maintainance of a great number of Fryers, who were to divide amongst themselves all the hours of the day and night there without interruption to sing the praises of God. But tho' he had blotted out his sin, by his tears and fastings, God was determined to punish him more rigorously in this world, (*g*) that he might spare him in the other, as he had earnestly begged in his most fervent prayers. Clodomir king of Orleans, part of whose territories were surrounded by those of Burgundy, some time afterwards made use of this circumstance to make war upon him, in which he engaged his brothers, and principally Thierry king of Austrasia, who was Sigericus's brother in law, whose sister he had married. (*b*) Sigismund was overcome in the battle, and taken with his wife and children by Clodomir, whom he carried to Orleans in irons. And as after the retreat of those victorious kings, Gondemar, Sigismund's brother, had easily retaken all Burgundy, Clodomir was so enraged at it, that before he returned to the war he inhumanly ordered his prisoners to be massacred, and
 527. their bodies thrown into a well, from whence they were taken sometime after with great honour: God having by many miracles signally declared Sigismund's piety, whose repentance, by the wonderful use he made of his afflictions, (*i*) has deserved that place which the church has given him in the number of such saints, whom she every year solemnly honours. After that Clodomir and Thierry returned against Gondemar, whom they defeated in a second battle before Vienna: But Clodomir was killed in it by
 528. some Burgundians in disguise, whom he took for French; and four years after Childebert king of Paris, and Clotaire king of Soissons having revenged his death, by the entire destruction of Gondemar, divided amongst themselves and their brother Thierry the kingdom

(*f*) St. Mauritius, or Chablais.(*g*) Greg. Tur. de glor. Martyr.(*b*) Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 5.(*i*) Mart. Rom. 1. Maij.

of Burgundy, which became a part of that of France. Thus of *A. D.* two kingdoms which the Arians had possessed in the Gauls, only 528. the first and second Narbonese Gauls, (*k*) remained to be wrested out of their hands. To which the sudden change, and afterwards the death of Theodoricus king of Italy at once extremely prepared matters.

After the death of Anastasius the heretick Emperor, (*l*) who was killed by a clap of thunder, Justin, who from a private foldier taken from the dregs of the people, had risen thro' all the degrees of honour to the imperial throne, soon established the Catholick faith in all its strength, by his edicts, exterminating all the Heresies, except the Arian, which he seemed resolved to spare, for fear of exasperating Theodoricus, with whom, for reasons of state, he had been obliged to make alliance. (*m*) But in the sixth year of his reign, seeing himself so firmly settled, as no longer to be under any apprehensions from that Arian prince, he renewed his edicts against the Hereticks, therein comprehending the Arians, from whom he took all their Churches. Theodoricus, who till then had permitted the Catholicks to live in full peace, without shewing any great warmth for the interest of his sect, looked upon himself so highly offended by this Edict, that whether thinking his honour concerned, or fearing the Chatholicks might enter into some engagements with Justin, to turn him out of Italicus, he resolved either to have it revoked, or to carry matters to an extremity. (*n*) To this end, he obliged Pope John, who had succeeded Hormisdas, to go Ambassador to Constantinople, with four of the chief members of the senate, which he suspected to have an intelligence with the Emperour, Two things he gave them principally in charge; the first, to take care that Justin undertook nothing against his interests; the second, to oblige him to re-establish the Arians, (*o*) protesting that if they failed in either of those points, he would revenge himself on the Catholicks, on whom he would make a cruel war throughout his dominions. (*p*) The Pontif found himself under a necessity of undertaking the journey, during which God was pleased in an

(*k*) Lower Languedoc and Provence.

(*l*) Misc. l. 15.

(*m*) Misc. l. 15.

(*n*) Anast. Bibl. in Joann. Boet. de. Consol. l. 1. Presp. 4. Marcell. in Chron.

(*o*) Anast. (*p*) Greg. Mag Dial. l. 3. c. 2.

A. D. extraordinary manner to signalize his eminent piety by uncommon
 528. miracles, even to the restoring a blind man to sight at his entrance into Constantinople, (*q*) where he was received with all imaginable honours. All the city came out to meet him, with crosses, banners, and tapers in their hands, to the number of twelve thousand, (*r*) and the Emperor, at his coming up, condescended so far as to throw himself at his feet, in order to adore JESUS CHRIST's vicar on earth, tho' this Pontif had so slender an equipage as to be forced to make part of his journey upon borrowed horses.

He celebrated Easter-day in the great Church, in Latin, and according to the Roman ceremonies; and the Emperour who had already been crowned, had a mind again to receive the Imperial crown from his hand. (*s*) After this, when they were to go upon business, he did all he could for Theodoricus's interest, and to make Justin observe the peace, that he might remove the suspicion the Goths had conceived against the Roman Senate. But far from endeavouring to prevail on the Emperour to let the Arians alone, to revoke his Edict, (*t*) and restore them their churches, to prevent any persecution falling upon the Catholicks in Italy, as some have written; he himself protests in a letter he wrote the year after to the bishops of Italy, to encourage them to suffer, (*u*) and vigorously oppose the Arians, that he reconsecrated all the churches which the Emperour had taken from the Arians; by this new consecration, making them holy and Catholick, whereas before they were prophane and unholy. (*x*) And indeed, Theodoricus was so provoked at it, that as soon as the holy Pontif was returned to Ravenna, to give him an account of his Embassy, he threw him into prison loaden with chains, where he died the year after, oppressed with miseries, thus ending his Embassy by a glorious Martyrdom, which the church yearly celebrates. (*y*) He added impiety to his cruelty, having insisted on the nominating a pope, which no Emperor, except Constantius, an Arian as well as he, had ever dared to attempt; and ever since the Emperours pretended to a right

(*q*) Anast. Bibl. (*r*) Greg. Mag. ibid. Marcel. in Chron. (*s*) Anast.
 (*t*) Paul. Diac. in Misc. l. 15. Marian l. 5. c. 6. (*u*) Ep. 2. Jo. Tom. 1:
 Ep. R. Pontif. (*x*) Greg. Tur. glor. Martyr. c. 40. (*y*) 27. Maij. Ep.
 Athal. ad Senat. ap. Cassiod. l. 8. Ep. 15.

at least of confirming every new elected Pope. So that it was an Arian who began the reducing of the Roman church into captivity, from which she was at length freed by Charlemagne, who broke her chains, and re-established her in the happy condition of her former liberty, which she still enjoys to this day. But God did not suffer such monstrous crimes to go long unpunished, for fifty eight days after this violent attempt, and ninety after the Pope's death, Theodoricus, who had at the same time put to death Boëtius and Symmachus, the two most illustrious members of the Roman senate, falsely accused of conspiracy against the state, was taken out of the world by a kind of phrensy, with which he was struck on a sudden, upon looking at the head of a large fish that had been served up to his table, and which he took for that of Symmachus threatening him. But as we ought always to do justice to merit, wherever we find it, we must own, that taking from his life the first and last action of his reign which lasted more than thirty years, he would by his military and political virtues have equalled the greatest men of ancient Rome. His grandson, Athalaricus, a youth of no more than eight years, succeeded him, under the regency of Amalasonta his mother, daughter to king Theodoricus, who had married her to Eutharicus, a Gothick prince of the blood of the Amalis; a princess worthy of such a father, whose good qualities she had inherited, without any of his vices or defects.

Theodoricus's death, which was the ruin of the Ostrogoths, was soon succeeded by the disasters of Amalaricus king of the Visigoths, whom his brutality, and false zeal for Arianism, (z) hurried into his last misfortune. He had demanded the princess Clotilda their sister of the kings of France, in order to strengthen himself by an alliance with such powerful princes, (a) whose friendship was of consequence to him. They sent her to him into Spain, with an equipage suitable to her high birth; But this young king, who ought to have learnt, by his father's example and misfortune, not to provoke the sons of Clovis, ill returned the honour they did him. He did all he could to engage her as

(z) Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 10. Aimoin. l. 2. c. 8.
Goth. l. 1. c. 13.

(a) Procop. de bell.

A.D. he already had himself, into Arianism; and seeing she remained
 528. immoveable in her resolution to perish rather than abandon the faith, there was no sort of indignity which he did not make her suffer, either to gratify his hatred to the Catholicks, or to revenge himself for her refusal to obey him, or to tire out, and at last get the better of her constancy. For he even went so far as to suffer, and even privately to command the Goths, upon her going to the churches of the Catholicks, publickly to load her with abusive and opprobrious language, and to throw dirt at her; and at last carrying his fury beyond all bounds, he struck her in so outrageous a manner himself, as to make her run down with blood.

530.

As all the virtues have a sort of Harmony amongst themselves, and have their just bounds and measures, this virtuous princess, having allowed every thing she thought due to patience, also thought she ought to make satisfaction to justice, by causing the injury offered to the majesty of the kings of France so outrageously insulted in her person to be repaired. She therefore writ an account of the cruel and barbarous treatment she every day received to her brothers. She told them, "that if her person was the only thing
 " concerned, she would suffer till death without complaining,
 " rather than arm her brothers against her husband. But as the
 " interests of religion, an attempt to oppress which was made
 " thro' her, and the glory of France, to which the greatest of as-
 " fronts was offered, were equally concerned, she could no longer
 " forbear speaking, without in some measure betraying them both
 " by her silence. That it would be glorious for her to dye a
 " Martyr, as she certainly should do, if she waited ever so little
 " till Amalaricus's fury should be completely discharged upon
 " her; but that it would be too great a dishonour to the French,
 " for the daughter of the great Clovis to be so ignominiously
 " treated by the son of him whom he had conquered, and by his
 " Arian Visigoths, who by law of arms ought to be his slaves.
 " However, that as it had been her brothers who had innocently
 " engaged her in that miserable slavery, under which she was the
 " most unhappy person upon earth, they were likewise in their
 " turns obliged, by all sorts of reasons, divine and humane, to
 " extricate her out of it. That they imagined they had given
 " her

"her a king for her husband, but that they had delivered her
 "into the hands of an executioner, or rather that they had ex-
 "posed her to the mercy of a wild beast, that nothing was capa-
 "ble of taming: and that if her words were too weak to convince
 "them of a thing so very improbable, that what she sent them
 "with the letter, would be a convincing proof of so melancholy
 "a truth." And indeed, she sent them a handkerchief dipped in
 the blood of a wound she had received by a blow from Amala-
 ricus. (b)

Childebert, who was then at the head of a powerful army in
 Auvergne, upon a design he had been attempting in prejudice of
 his brother Thierry, being the first who received that letter,
 and handkerchief, sent them both to his brothers; but however,
 without waiting for them, as he burnt with desire of revenging
 so heinous an injury done to the blood of France, he hastily
 lead his army over the Pyreanean mountains, and came thun-
 dring upon Amalaricus, who, having neither courage nor forces
 to bear up against so violent a blow, (c) was soon routed by
 the single Cavalry of the French, who cut the greatest part
 of his army in pieces before Barcelona, (d) whither he had
 fled: (e) and as he was just upon escaping on board a fleet
 he had ordered to be in readiness for all accidents, his ava-
 rice detained him, by his death to compleat the punishment
 due to such a brutal cruelty. For calling to mind that he had left
 in his closet a basket, in which were his jewels, he went back to
 get them; but he found himself surprised by the French, who
 entering the city, almost at the same time, cut off his retreat.
 (f) And as in this extremity he was endeavouring to escape into
 the church belonging to the Catholics, there to find a sure
 asylum, a French trooper, who made at him before he could reach
 thither, ran his lance thro' him, and stretched him dead on the
 ground. (g) After this, Childebert, still to carry his vengeance
 farther, having laid waste the greatest part of Spain, as far as
 Toledo, which was taken and plundered, returned loaded with
 booty into France together with Clotilda, who died in the journey,

(b) Greg. Tur.

(c) Aimoin.

(d) Mar. 1. 5.

(e) Greg. Tur.

(f) Greg. Tur. Aimoin Marian.

(g) Ado. Vienn. Aimoin.

A. D. and whose body was carried to Paris, and placed in the church of
 531 the holy Apostles, near that of her father the great Clovis (*b*) whilst Childebert, to complete his glorious enterprise, conquered a great part of Languedoc, which was still possessed by the Visigoths, most of whom, after the defeat of their army, retired into Spain, with their wives and children.

However neither was it here that Childebert checked the course of his revenge. For sometime after marching back with Clothaire into Spain, (*i*) he ravaged all Catalonia and Arragon; and just as he was upon the point of making himself master of Saragossa, moved with the people's piety who were all Catholics, and who daily with bitter sighs implored the assistance of Heaven, by the intercession of St. Vincent, whose stool they carried in procession round the walls, he drew off his army, contenting himself with that precious Relick, of which they made him a present, and which he resolved himself to carry in triumph at Paris, as the monument and fruits of his victories, and of the revenge he had taken of the Arians the enemies of JESUS CHRIST, and the persecutors of Clotilda. And to render the remembrance of it eternal, by transmitting so rich a deposit to all ages to come, he caused a great and noble church to be built in honour of St. Vincent, which now bears the name of St. Germain, Bishop of Paris, who consecrated it, there to preserve it in a sacred place. Thus the dominion of the Arians, already almost wholly extinct in the Gauls, was very much weakened in Spain and Italy, by these losses of the Visigoths, and by the decease of Theodoricus king of the Ostrogoths. They did not last long after the ruin of the Vandals, which was the happy earnest of theirs: And it is here that I should give an account of it, since it was exactly at this time that it happened. But it is necessary for me to begin a little higher, to take a view of the state of the African church under the Arians, after so many terrible persecutions, it had suffered under the kings Gisericus, Hunnericus, and Gundamond, who, in the close of his reign, imitated the cruelty of his predecessors against the Catholics.

Trafamond, his brother, who succeeded him, behaved in a dif-

(*b*) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Goth. c. 13. (*i*) Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 9. (*k*) Procop de bell. Vandal. l. 1. c. 8.

ferent manner, tho' not less bigotted to his heresy, than he. He *A. D.*
 took another method, which he thought would be more effectual *531.*
 to pervert the Catholicks. *(l)* He attacked them not by violence and
 torments, but by lenity and gratuities. He gave offices and
 honours to those who embraced Arianism; he made them mag-
 nificent presents; and when any one had committed a capital
 crime, he was sure of pardon provided he turned Arian. *(m)* And
 what was still more dangerous in this new kind of persecution, *507.*
 was that, in order to scatter the flock, by depriving it of Pastors,
 insensibly and without violence, he all over Africa prohibited the
 choice of any bishops into the place of those who should be dead.
 The bishops of the Byzacene province seeing that this in effect
 was a way to ruin the faith, assembled in the form of a council,
 and thereupon ordered, that, without having any regard to the Edict,
 they should immediately establish bishops in all the cities which
 had none: Which was immediately done. It was then that St.
 Fulgentius, (who had hid himself, for fear of being made a bishop,)
 being found in the Monastery of which he was abbot, and whither he,
 believing all the vacancies were filled up, and that he no longer
 was in danger, was returned, was granted to the citizens of
 Ruspa, who earnestly desired him for their pastor. Trasamond, tho'
 a wise and moderate prince, and tho' he had resolved not to proceed
 to violent measures, could not here be master of his resentments,
 nor hinder his anger from breaking out. *(n)* He condemned all those
 bishops to banishment, and immediately had sixty of them transported
 to Sardinia: He afterwards swelled the number so high that it rose
 to two hundred and twenty five, amongst whom was St. Fulgentius.
 During this exile he was the comforter and adviser of those glorious
 confessors of JESUS CHRIST, who in all emergencies consulted
 him as an oracle, upon account of his eminent learning, his con-
 summate prudence, *(o)* and extraordinary virtue, formerly mani-
 fested in the midst of torments, at a time when a wicked Arian
 priest seizing upon him and his Abbot Felix, caused them to be
 inhumanly torn to pieces with whips, because Fulgentius with
 admirable force preached the divinity of the son of God.

(l) Ibid. *(m)* Ferr. Diac. in vit. S. Fulgen. ap. sur. i. Januar. Tom. 4.
 Concil. Edit. Paris. *(n)* Miscell. l. 15. Sigeb. in Chron. *(o)* Ferr. Diac. Ibid.

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In the mean time, the king, who would have had it thought that it was from reason, and not at all from passion, that he shewed such an ardor for his sect, affected saying on all occasions that he was no way prejudiced, that his aim was pure truth and reason, being intirely ready to follow it, even among Catholicks, provided they could demonstrate it to be on their side; but that he met with none of them, tho' he gave them all manner of liberty to say what they pleased, who satisfied him upon the difficulties and reasons he proposed to them. At last, as he was often repeating the same thing, some body one day told him very freely, that if he sincerely had a mind to be informed of the truth of the Catholick faith, he need only send for the bishop Fulgentius, whom he had banished into the island of Sardinia; and that provided he would hear him, he would surely find reason to be satisfied. Trasamond, who had engaged to act the philosopher, and to say he only looked for one who should answer his reasons, gave orders for his being immediately brought to Carthage, where he made an incredible progress by his admirable discourses upon the divinity of the son of God. The king laid before him the difficulties he formed upon the mystery of the trinity in writing, and commanded him to send him precise answers to each point. The Saint did it with so much strength and perspicuity, that the king, who read them with great application, could not help admiring the depth of his learning, and the beauty of his wit, as they are still every day admired in reading those answers in his works.

But he was resolved still to put him to a more difficult proof. For towards the evening he sent him home a large book, containing not only all the principles and arguments of the Arian heresy, but likewise all those of the Eutycheans, against the mystery of the incarnation and union of the two natures in JESUS CHRIST, and bad the messenger tell him, that he would have him answer all the articles of that volume in order, without allowing him any longer than till night, however earnestly the holy man desired to be allowed at least the whole night to read it over. So that he scarce had time hastily to run it over, before he was obliged to return it to him, who had express orders to bring it back as soon as possible to the king; and yet by a prodigious effort of mind, the saint did not fail to retain the contents of the volume, and exactly answer it
in

in those three admirable books which we have among his works. This so much surpris'd the king, who imagin'd he had put him to a proof from which he could never get clear, that from that time he never dared to propose any thing more to him. But tho' he admir'd his learning and eloquence, was fully convinc'd, and had seen the most skilful of his Arian bishops, who undertook to write against St. Fulgentius, confounded by another book; this unhappy prince ever remained obstinate in his heresy, had the St. carried back into exile, and incessantly continued solliciting the Catholics by his artifices to renounce their belief. But he was punish'd for it by God even in this world, having a little before his death lost a numerous army in the war he made upon Cabao prince of those Moors, who inhabit in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. (p)

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531.

That prince was a Heathen: But having heard of the miracles of JESUS CHRIST, and knowing that the Vandals cruelly persecut'd those who worshipp'd him as the true God, he thought he ought to implore his assistance, and by some eminent piece of service, merit his protection against those impious men, who were enemies to his nation. To this end, he sent some to Carthage in disguise to discover the design of the Vandals, and follow them in their march, with orders to repair whatever damage they should do in the churches of the Catholics. They acquitted themselves of their commission very faithfully. The army of the Vandals having taken the road to Tripoli, by horrible Sacrileges prophan'd all the churches they met with in their way, putting beasts into them, filling them with ordures, and doing a thousand injuries to the priests who had the care of them: And as soon as they had left them, Cabao's spies took care to clean them, to light the lamps, and to set up the altars and holy tables again, and throwing themselves at the feet of the priests, put large alms in their hands, to make up the losses they had suffer'd. After which, upon drawing near Tripoli, they went before, to give their master an account of all that had pass'd, and of the condition of the Vandal army, which was marching towards him, in order to give him battle. Whereupon this prince, who

(p) Procop. de bel. Vandal. l. 1. c. 8. Evag. l. 4. cap. 15. Niceph. l. 17. c. 11.

A. D. 505. knew the GOD of the Christians was to be gained by the exercises of a holy and penitent life, having prepared his men for the combat, by abstinence and chastity, separating them from their wives, forbidding them the use of them on pain of death, drew up his army in order of battle in a very extraordinary manner. For he ranged them as it were in a circle, in the midst of which he placed the women, children, and the baggage, and then surrounded it with his camels. He placed them twelve deep in the foremost ranks, in the midst of which he put his best soldiers covered with their shields, and guarded by those animals as by a rampart.

The Vandals, who all fought on horseback, and who did not doubt but they should trample down those Moors under their feet, whom they despised, both for the smallness of their number, and their little experience, being upon the point of charging, were extremely surprised and confounded at the sight of this new camp. For as their only arms were a sword and lance, they could only fight hand to hand: And the horses, frightened at the sight of the camels, curvetted, instead of advancing, and exposed their riders to flights of darts and arrows thrown at them, and which were darted, without ever missing, from all quarters of this new entrenchment, as from so many towers of a fortress. So that a great slaughter of men and horses, squeezed and entangled together, being made in a short time; as the Moors saw they were in disorder, and that each man's only endeavour was to get out of the confusion, in order to run away; then, coming out of their entrenchment, they fell on them so furiously, that they cut them almost all in pieces, except a few that escaped from the slaughter, to carry the news of it to Trasamond, who shortly after died with vexation at it, having reigned seven and twenty years (q) This blow however, which was the manifest work of heaven, for the punishment of the Sacrilege of those Arians, did not soften his heart; for on his death-bed, he obliged Hildericus, his successor, by an oath never, during his reign, to restore to the Catholicks those Churches which he had deprived them of, when he turned out their Bishops.

But it happened quite otherwise. This Hildericus, who was the son of Hunnericus and Eudoxia, daughter to Valentinian III.

(q) *Ibid.* in Chron. æt S. Fulg. Paul. Diac.

whom Gisericus had brought from Rome to Carthage, was not at all of the humour of his father, and Cousins, who had reigned before him, by the prerogative of their age, according to Gisericus's law. For this Prince was of a mild disposition, an enemy to violence, a lover of repose and a quiet life, and particularly careful to secure the Catholicks from any ill treatment. (r) Wherefore as soon as Trasamonds's eyes were closed, even before the taking possession of his kingdom, that it might not be said he had violated his oath, he recalled all the exiled bishops, and gave the Catholicks liberty to chuse new ones, as it was done at Carthage, where Boniface was elected bishop: and ever after the African church, after so many persecutions, enjoyed a profound peace, under this Vandal king, who permitted the bishops to hold their councils with as much liberty, (s) as they did under the Roman Emperors. He had even contracted a strict friendship with Justinian, who was not as yet Emperor, but who already governed the empire during the infirmities of Justin his uncle's old age, who had declared him his successor.

However, Hildericus did not long enjoy the repose he endeavoured to give others. (t) Gilimer, who being the eldest of all the princes of his blood, was, according to the Vandal law, to succeed him in the crown, entred into a conspiracy with the great men of the realm against him, and had the art so fully to persuade them that this unactive king was from his cowardice unworthy to command the Vandals, (whom he every day shamefully exposed to the insults of the Moors, and that he even had a design of delivering them up to Justinian, with whom he to that end kept up so strict a correspondence,) that they imprisoned this poor prince with his two brothers Hoamer and Evagenes, and set Gilimer upon his throne. Justinian, who had succeeded his uncle Justin, could not bear an attempt that set so ill a precedent, and that was of such dangerous consequence to crowned heads, especially against a prince with whom he had always entertained a most intimate friendship. He sent an embassy to Gilimer, and writ to him to oblige him to let him enjoy at least the

(r) Victor. in Tunnun. in chron. Isid. in Chron. vita. S. Fulg. de bell. Vandal. l. 1. c. 8.

(s) Procop. ibid.

(t) Procop.

name

A.D. 531. name of king, and the appearance of royalty, and to be content with the reality, with the Government of the kingdom. But this traitor, instead of any answer, having dismissed the ambassadors, caused Hoamer's eyes to be put out, who was a prince of great bravery; and as for Hildericus, and his brother, whose weakness he despised, he put them under a closer confinement, bidding them with a cruel raillery, go and seek their protector at Constantinople.

Justinian, tho' heinously affronted, would not carry things to an extremity: but writ a second time to Gilimer, "that since he had chosen rather to usurp the throne by a crime, than enjoy it by lawful succession, he was welcome to keep it, if fortune was so favourable as to preserve him in it. But that at least he would send him those poor princes whom he kept in chains, to the end they might in some measure alleviate their sufferings by the kind treatment they might receive at Constantinople. In short, that if he was refused so reasonable a request, he should be forced to break the alliance which the emperors had had with the Vandals, and to attempt a satisfaction of this injury by arms." To which Gilimer, blinded by his ambition, instead of endeavouring to soften and oblige so great a prince, without any loss to himself, as he might easily have done, answered with insupportable haughtiness, "that the Vandals having deposed Hildericus, whom they judged unworthy of reigning, Gilimer had ascended the throne, not by a crime, nor by force, nor by the choice of his subjects, but by right of birth, by the prerogative of age, and by the authority of law, which had called him to it. That he knew not by what right he meddled in other Peoples affairs; but that he well knew if he broke the alliance which the emperor Zeno had made with the Vandals, he would find a prince ready to answer him at the head of a powerful army, in order to teach him that it would have been more advantageous for him to have cultivated his friendship."

There needed no more to make Justinian resolve upon war, tho' he was already engaged in one with the Persians. However he was obliged to dissemble, till he had made it up with the latter, that he might have all his forces at liberty. But as soon

as he had made a treaty with them, and had got happily over that terrible sedition at Constantinople, (u) in which there fell in one day above thirty thousand men, he made all his preparations, and chose Belisarius, whom he had recalled from Persia, to command his army against the Vandals. Never was there a war, wherein the protection of God, who was its author, more manifestly appeared than in this. When Justinian proposed it in his council, there was not one single voice for undertaking it. The remembrance of the loss of that vast army which Basiliscus had formerly commanded against Gisericus, gave a horror to all the world: and as nothing was to be seen that came near the forces of that time, it was not doubted but the event of this second attempt must be still more unhappy. The captains, and the soldiers, the treasurer general, and the men of business, were all equally against this war: the latter because they feared being too closely pressed to raise money; and the former, because being used to fight by land, they were extremely averse to sea-fights, which they knew nothing of, and in which they thought the Vandals invincible. In short, the Præfectus Prætorij, who had the reputation of one of the bravest men of his age, said so many things against this war, and so clearly shewed the emperor, that he risked every thing by losing, and gained nothing by victory, Africa being of no use to him without Sicily and Italy, that Justinian himself began to condemn the enterprise. But a holy Bishop who came on purpose from Asia to Constantinople, having desired an audience to communicate a matter of the utmost consequence, told him he was come from God to reproach him with having, for the sake of vain fears, laid aside the glorious resolution he had taken of delivering Africa from the Tyranny of those Arians, who, for more than a century, had miserably oppressed it. Then assuming the air of a prophet, he added, as by an immediate inspiration, appearing quite another man: "Behold that which the Lord saith; I will succour thee in the battle; and I will bring Africa under thy dominion." Then Justinian no longer doubting either the will or the protection of God, gave the necessary orders for the embarking of his army as soon as possible.

(u) Procop. l. 1. Pers. Theoph.

A. D. 532. It consisted of no more men than ten thousand foot, and five thousand horse, as well Romans as foreigners, upon five hundred vessels, of which there were but ninety two fitted out for war, tho' to no purpose, because the soldiers all protested they would not fight by sea, which was a sort of an omen of what was to happen. The most favourable circumstance was the number of Veteran Officers that had served in the former wars with great reputation, and especially Belisarius, who was the greatest captain of his age, and who kept an exact discipline in his army, which extremely contributed to gaining the Africans. This army sat out from Constantinople in the month of June: and as it was detained by ill weather, did not reach Africa till three months after, in the beginning of September. Belisarius, in passing by Syracuse, had learnt from a man that was come from Carthage three days before, that he might boldly sail for Africa, that there was no news there of his coming; that all the coasts were left naked, and that Gilimer having sent his fleet against Godas, who revolted in sardinia, was passing his time at Hermione in the Byzacene province, about four days journey from the shore, without having the least thought that he was ready to be attacked, Hereupon Belisarius, without giving heed to some who would not have had him gone a shore, for fear of engaging in an enemy's country, without provisions, water, or a certain harbour for the shipping, went and landed his army at a place about five days journey from Carthage, on that part of the shore called by the Romans *Caput vada*, or chief of the Flats, as the ditch for enclosing the camp was digging, they in so dry a quarter found a fine fountain which served all the army for refreshment, and for a happy omen of the victory.

Having given his army a little rest, he sent his guards before to seize upon Sillectum a town lying upon the sea about a days journey from the camp, on the road to Carthage. They easily surprised it, because Gisericus had razed the walls of it; and from thence they informed the Africans, and even the Vandals, by little notes which they dispersed in all parts, that they were come only as friends to deliver them from Gilimer's tyranny. This being done, Belisarius marched towards Carthage in order of battle, having on the right the sea and his fleet, which he caused to advance

BOOK X.

The History of ARIANISM.

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vance as he marched forward, on his left the Massagetes, or Huns, all horse, at the distance of about twenty Stadia. He had chosen three hundred of the most resolute of his men, under the conduct of John, a brave Armenian captain, to march before, at the same distance, and to discover where the enemy was; and he with the gross of the army, followed in good order, upon occasion to make head against Gilimer, whom he easily imagined would follow him.

And indeed, as soon as that Barbarian heard at Hermione of Belisarius's descent, he immediatly sent orders to his brother Amatas, whom he had left at Carthage, to put Hildericus and Evagenes to death (Hoamer being already dead with grief) and such as he took to be their friends. He farther ordered that arming all the Vandals that were at Carthage, he should come and wait for the enemy at a Defile that was at Decimum near the city, to fight them in front, tho' he should be there engaged, whilst he would attack them behind with the gross of his army, and that his nephew Gibamond, whom he had sent before upon the left, should at the same time attack him in flank, that being thus surrounded on all sides, he might not escape. And certainly, these measures were not ill concerted, had they not been broken by the good order of Belisarius's army, and by the precipitation of Amatas, who ruined all this fine project. For that prince, fearing he should not come up time enough, upon the advice he had that the enemy began to appear, marched out of Carthage in disorder; with a few Vandals, having ordered the rest to follow him in files, and as he was got to the Defile long before Belisarius's army, or that of his brother, who followed it at a good distance, he fell in with John's three hundred horse, whom he attacked so briskly that upon the spot he killed twelve of them. But he was himself killed soon after, fighting with more bravery than conduct. Most of them that were with him were cut in pieces; the rest seeing him on the ground, took the Alarm and fled. But as in their flight they fell in with their own men that were coming from Carthage. And as these, believing that all the army was already passed, turned their backs; they entangled themselves amongst each other, by falling in with those that were continually advancing in files. So that that handful of Romans, who followed them close sword in hand, finding them in this disorder, made so great a slaughter of them,

A. D.
532.

A. D. that, to see the country covered with dead bodies to the very
532 gates of Carthage, one would have said, that twenty thousand men had been engaged.

At the same time the Massagetes lighting upon Gibamond, who was marching to the rendezvous on his side, defeated his two thousand men, and Belisarius who knew nothing of these two advantages, which his side had gained, and who was resolved not to expose himself to the hazard of a battle, before he had fully informed himself of Gilimer's strength, was advancing with the Cavalry, having left his infantry, and the baggage behind in a well-fortified camp. But he was much surprised, when the scouts of the foreign troops, whom he had sent before as far as near Decimum, came and told him that the enemy was in sight, and that they were already come to blows with their men, who desired him to advance; and was much more so, when some time after he saw them running away full speed. For Gilimer who had drawn all his forces together, and was marching to the left, had got before Belisarius, and had taken possession of a rising ground that was of great advantage, from whence he had just repulsed the Romans, who took the alarm, and by their flight carried away with those who were ordered to support them. So that had he vigorously pursued the fugitives, who were ready to throw themselves upon Belisarius, he had certainly put them into disorder, it being impossible with such a handful of troops to have born up against so great an army already half victorious: besides that in his march back to Carthage, he would have taken or killed all John's horse, and that it would have been easy for him, after that, to have made himself master of all the ships in the fleet.

But God who had determined his destruction, deprived him of his judgment. For as he had descended from the rising ground into the plain, and had there seen his brother's body, instead of resolving to take immediate revenge for his death, by following his good fortune, and victory who offered herself to him, he trifled away his time in bewailing his misfortune and his brother's death, and seeing the last honours paid to the deceased, by his army, who thinking of nothing else but of performing the funeral, which besides was a very bad omen, kept neither rank nor order, and did

did not dream that they were to fight. Then Belisarius having had time to recover his men from the fright they had been in, to inform himself of the state of affairs, and disposition of the places, so luckily attacked his enemies, whom he found all in disorder, that he easily put them to flight, and pursuing his victory till night, made a terrible slaughter of them. Gilimer made off towards Numidia with all that could escape from the battle, not daring to shut himself up in Carthage, a great part of the walls of which were fallen down. The next day Belisarius's infantry having joined him, he advanced as far as the Gates of the city, which were immediately opened to him and the day following, which was the Festival of St. Cyprian bishop and Patron of Carthage, he made his solemn entry into it, with the acclamations of all the orders of men in the city, who blessed God for having at length delivered them from the cruel tyranny of the Arians, under which they had so long groaned. The Catholicks immediately recovered all the churches which the Hereticks had usurped, and at the same time the Vandals crowded into them from all sides for safety as into an Asylum which they found at the foot of those very altars, which they had so often profaned.

As Gisericus had dismantled all the towns, and demolished all the strong places, to take away from the Africans the means of revolting, Gilimer had no other means left for repairing his losses, and preserving his kingdom; than the retaking of Carthage, or the winning of a battle: both which ways he attempted. For having drawn together in Numidia all the Vandals and Moors he could, and being joined by his brother Tzazo with the army which he had by his orders brought from Sardinia, he came and presented himself before Carthage, where he had been tampering to gain intelligence, which he thought would be still more facilitated by such Arians as were foreigners and served in the Roman army. But as he saw there was no hopes for him, the treason being discovered by Belisarius, who had the traitor hanged in view of the enemy, he retired to a greater distance, and contented himself with seizing upon the Avenues, to cut off all communication with the city. But Belisarius having finished the fortification of Carthage, and brought over the Huns to his interest, who, he knew, had been solicited by Gilimer, at length marched out with

A.D. greatest part of his army, and having presented himself before
532. Gilimer's camp at Tricamare, which lay about one hundred stadia distant from the city, there was no avoiding a battle, which began about the fifteenth of December, three months after the reduction of Carthage.

Between the two Armies ran a small brook which was easily passable. The Romans halted on this side it, to pass the night and prepare themselves against the next day for attacking the camp, where they imagined the enemy would keep himself close. But they were saved that trouble: For Gilimer, thinking it too weak to be able to defend himself in it, having encouraged his soldiers by every argument he thought capable of animating them, especially by this last necessity they found themselves under either of fighting or dying, by the loss of Empire and liberty, came out the first, and advanced to the other side of the brook, where he appeared in order of battle about noon, whilst the Romans were thinking of nothing but preparing dinner. He had placed his Vandals in the two wings, on the right and left. (x) Tzazo with the troops from Sardinia was posted in the center, and the Moors, who made the body of reserve, came after; and as for him, he was every where, running thro' the ranks, crying out to his men to fall on immediately with sword in hand, and not to amuse themselves with their arrows or lances. But the Romans were still more nimble than he: For whilst he halted on the side of the brook, which he should have briskly passed, they fell into their ranks with incredible diligence, and ranged themselves in order of battle of their own accord. The foreign Auxiliaries were on the right; the Roman horse on the left; John the Armenian was posted between them both with the household troops and Belisarius's guards, who marched next at the head of five hundred horse. The Huns made a body by themselves, at a little distance from the rest, as they were used to fight; but they were resolved on this occasion, to be spectators of the battle, and fall in with that side which should have the advantage. As for the infantry, Belisarius commanded them to march slowly after, intending they should not engage till he should see what effect his cavalry had.

(x) l. 2. c. 3.

After

After the two Armies had for some time faced each other, the little brook being between them, John, as commanded by Belisarius, passed over first with a small number of horse, and fell upon Tzazo's squadrons, who received him so warmly, as to force him back to the brook, which he was obliged to repass, without the Vandals daring to follow him, he returned to the charge a second time with a larger body of men, and was again repulsed over the brook, on the brink of which the Vandals always halted, that they might not give the Romans the advantage of fighting them all the time they should be passing over. At last, as Belisarius saw they could not be drawn over by those two hasty retreats of John, he commanded him to pass over, and begin the attack with all the troops. Which he did with so much vigour and bravery, throwing himself amongst the enemy sword in hand, who also fought in the same manner, that he made them give back in their turn, having overthrown the bravest of them, and Tzazo himself, who was killed fighting with the greatest bravery. At the same time the two wings, being passed over, followed by Belisarius, march to charge the Vandals, who were at the two extremities; but as they saw that they who were in the centre, affrighted at the death of their chief officers, continually gave ground, and began to fly, they immediately took the alarm, and turning their backs at the first shock, carried the Moors with them, who instead of supporting them, ran away faster than they. Then the Huns, who followed at a good distance, seeing that all was lost as to the Vandals, began to pursue them: But as they fled to their camp which was fortified (as was imagined) the pursuit was not long. In this battle the Romans lost but fifty troopers, and as it had been rather a flight than a battle, there was but eight hundred Vandals killed, almost all of them the most considerable and bravest of the nation. The same day towards the evening, Belisarius having joined his infantry, advanced in good order to attack the enemy's camp. But Gilimer being retired towards Numidia, with his relation, and a few of his domesticks, as soon as he saw they were coming towards him, all the rest endeavoured to escape as they could, and the camp was taken and pillaged by the Romans, who enriched themselves with the spoils of the Vandals, and with their treasures, which they had left behind them. Gilimer, who had not one
strong

A. D. strong place, in which he could defend himself, was obliged to
 534 retire into the farthest part of Numidia, upon the top of Pappua, (y)
 an inaccessible mountain, inhabited by a few Moors who led a very
 miserable life, and there, after a three months siege laid to it by
 Pharus, captain of the Eruli, by strictly guarding all the avenues
 to hinder his escape, (z) or receiving any provisions, that happy
 prince, oppressed with miseries and poverty, at last surrendered him-
 self upon Belisarius's parole, that he should be well used by the
 Emperor. This promise was faithfully kept, he was always magni-
 ficently treated at Carthage, whilst they waited for the Emperor's
 orders. And in the mean time Belisarius, to compleat so glorious
 a conquest, by his lieutenants reduced all the rest of Africa, Sardinia,
 Corsica, and the Baleric islands, which were under the dominion
 of the Vandals, and which surrendered without resistance after
 the battle of Tricamare.

Hereupon, as this great man had heard that he was accused of
 a design to set up for himself in Africa, he himself carried his
 prisoners to Constantinople, where Justinian resolved at the entry
 of so great a captain the pomp of the antient triumphs should
 be revived. Gilimer clothed in a royal habit at the head of the
 other prisoners followed the conqueror; and when he entered the
 great square of the Hyppodrome, where the emperor was seated
 on a high throne, surrounded by the Grandees of the empire, and
 stripped of the purple was to prostrate himself to the earth to
 adore him, he did not seem dejected, and only said in his usual way
 this celebrated sentence of Solomon, which he often had in his mouth
 since his Change of fortune, "that every thing in this world was
 but vanity." He had been promised the dignity of Patrician,
 which at that time was the most considerable of the empire,
 but as he ever obstinately refused to abjure Arianism, they would
 not suffer him to prophane it, by that execrable heresy, and only
 assigned him subsistence in Galatia, whereon to live honourably
 with his family the rest of his days. Thus with so small a body
 of forces and in one single Campaign, God thereby intending to
 shew that it was himself that fought, so powerfull a kingdom was
 destroyed, and Africa delivered from the dominion of the Arians;
 a little more than a hundred years after Gisericus entered into it.

(y) Procop. l. 2. c. 4.

(z) cap. 7.

After this, as the bishops had recovered all the liberty, they enjoyed under Hildericus, they assembled at Carthage to the number of two hundred and seventeen, in a national council, where Reparatus, Boniface's successor presided. There were first read the Canons and Decrees of the holy council of Nice, in order to establish in all places the purity of the faith against the blasphemies of Arianism. After which, as the manner was proposed in which the bishops and the rest of the Arian Ecclesiasticks who desired to return to the church ought to be received, tho' each particular man plain enough declared his sentiments by his gestures which were on the side of severity, yet it was unanimously concluded, that no resolution ought to be taken thereon, till the Pope had been consulted. Whereupon two bishops and a dean were deputed to go to Rome, who gave the synodal letter to Pope Agapetus, who had just succeeded John the second, to whom it was addressed. He answered, that to reconcile justice with mercy, they ought to be readmitted into the church, with all the tenderness and affection required by christian charity, even so far as to allow them an honourable subsistence, (a) but that they ought in no wise to be suffered to continue in their order, and their dignity, nor to perform any office in the church. (b) The same answer he sent the emperor, for that prince had desired that such who should return to the church, by abjuring Arianism, might enjoy the same posts they had held among the Hereticks, that this indulgence shewn them might the more easily bring them back. But the Pope made him see so clearly, that such an indulgence would be of prejudice to the church, that true penitents seek not honours, and that those who should return upon a motive so little christian, would not be rightly converted, that he no longer insisted upon it, and did not take it ill that the holy Pope reprimanded Epiphanius for consecrating a converted Arian a Bishop. After this That prince, who at that time applied himself to the making several excellent ordinances for the government of the empire, set forth one directed to the Præfectus Prætorij of Africa, (c) wherein he commands that every thing that had been taken

(a) Agap. Ep. 1.

(b) Agap. Ep. 3. Vide Tom. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris.

(c) Novel. 36.

A.D. 535. from the church of Carthage, which he ordered to be called the city of Justinian, and all the rest of the churches in Africa by the Vandals should be restored to them, and that the Arians should not be allowed the exercise of their heresy, either in publick, or private, and that they should not hold any post in the government: it not peing reasonable that Hereticks should have an authority over christians, and that they ought to be content with being suffered to live. But as heresy generally inspires men with a spirit of revolting, the Arians took occasion from this edict, to raise a sedition, which in the end proved very fatal to them. For about a thousand Arian soldiers, (*d*) most of them the Eruli, who served in the emperor's army, not being able to bear by this ordinance to be debarred celebrating the festival of Easter, which was near, joined with such Romans as had married Vandal women, and who were very much exasperated, that the estates which their wives before enjoyed, were refused to be restored to them, and which belonged to the emperor by the right of war. Having joined together in this manner, for their common interests, and not being able to execute the horrid design they had formed to kill Salomon their Governor, on Easter-day, in the church, they broke out in an open revolt: and having placed Stozas the most resolute amongst them at their head, they ravaged all the country, plundering, burning, and massacring all they met with. And having augmented their troops, with some of the remains of the Vandals, they even dared to lay siege to Carthage. But Belisarius hastning thither from Sicily, where he was beginning the war against the Goths, made them raise the siege, and defeated them: and as he was gone back from thence, Germanus, the nephew of Justinian, being arrived at Constantinople, cut those revoltors in pieces, and settled the emperor's authority, whose edict he thenceforth caused to be obeyed: so that, after this, Arianism was soon extinguished throughout Africa, without being obliged to have recourse to violence and punishments.

(*d*) Procop. de bel. Vand. l. 2. c. 14. 15. 16. 17.

The end of the Xth Book.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A R I A N I S M.

B O O K X I.



AFTER that the Emperor Justinian had so happily exterminated Arianism out of Africa, he undertook to free Italy from it too, by the war he was forced to make upon the Ostrogoths, for the reason we are going to see. After the death of king Theodoricus, Amalasonte his daughter, a princess, who, by her merit, equalled the wisest kings, governed the kingdom, and the tender age of her son Athalaricus, with a prudence, which was nothing inferior to that of her father, when the brutality of the Grandees of her court broke all her

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measures. For these not being able to bear that she should educate the young prince in the Roman way to learning, and to virtue, as she very carefully did; and insisting that they would have a king who was brought up to arms, (a) as his ancestors had been, she was obliged to leave him to their conduct, which was so fatal to the unfortunate prince, that plunging into all sorts of debauchery, he entirely ruined his health, and fell into a mortal languor, that soon carried him to the grave. (b) As she saw her son given over, and did not think her own life safe among the Goths after his death, who hated her, because she could not suffer their disorders, she under-hand entered into a treaty with the Emperor, who had a high esteem for her, and resolved to surrender the kingdom of Italy into his hands. But the sudden death of her son did not give her time to accomplish her design. For fearing lest the Goths, who would not allow her to govern, should immediately chuse a king, she artfully prevented them, by setting Theodatus her cousin, and son of Amalfrida, king Theodoricus's sister, upon the throne.

He was a prince who had passed all his life in the country, in the study of the Platonic philosophy, but extremely mean-spirited, timorous, cowardly, covetous, and treacherous, of no honour, or probity, and capable of the vilest actions, when he was put upon them, either by his own or other men's passions. In short, as soon as he saw himself Master, forgetting all the promises he had just made to his benefactress, he suffered himself to be governed by the relations of those whom this princess had put to death for their crimes: And following the counsels of those people, he caused her to be imprisoned in an Island in the midst of Lacus Vulsinus: (c) and a few days after had her strangled in a bath, at the same time that he was suing for peace to the Emperor, having some time before constrained that unfortunate princess to write to him, in order to obtain it. Justinian highly provoked at this dreadful brutality of the Ostrogoths, resolved to revenge Amalasonta's death, to pursue the design she had had in favour of him, and also to rescue the capital city of the Empire, and all Italy, Sicily, and

(a) Procop. de bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 2.
Bolsena. Jornand. de rebus. Get. c. 59.

(b) Procop. c. 4.

(c) Lagodi-

Dalmatia, out of the hands of the Arians. To this end, he made preparations both by sea and land, the stupid Theodatus, amused, and still suing for peace, taking no notice of it. And that he might have the assistance of the French, or at least, to prevent their disturbing his conquests, he writ to their several kings, Childebert, Clothaire, and Theodebert, "That being obliged to make war upon the Ostrogoths, who besides their usurping Italy, the undoubted patrimony of the Emperors, had done him an irreparable injury, by putting to death the princess Amalasonta, (*d*) whom he had taken under his protection; he conjured them to join their arms to his, to be revenged of them, in the justest war that ever had been. That the Catholick religion, which united them all, obliged them to it, that they might deliver the church from the tyranny of those Arians, enemies of God and man; not to mention that the hatred, that they all equally bore to this Gothick nation, ought to inspire them with the same design." To this letter he joined a great number of presents, and a large sum of money, promising them still more, as soon as they should have begun the war. These kings very readily listened to the Emperor's proposal, and promised to assist him with all their forces in this expedition, wherein they themselves were concerned; because the Ostrogoths still were in possession of the greatest part of the province, which they had a mind to unite to their crown, in order to make all the Gauls, both French, and Catholick: Besides that Amalasonta, who was the daughter of Audasleda, the great Clovis's daughter, their father, being their cousin-german, they looked upon themselves as bound to revenge her cruel death, who by her virtue and shining qualities, did honour to the blood of France, from which she had the honour to be descended. I thought myself bound, in the cause of truth to speak thus of this princess, tho' an Arian, in order to defend her against an idle story highly injurious to her memory, and which destroys itself, by the very plain falsehoods, which appear in all the parts of it. Which notwithstanding has not hindered Gregory of Tours from inserting it in his history, against the testimony of the authors who are his contemporaries, whom doubtless he

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(*d*) Procop. l. i. c. 5.

A. D. himself would have preferred to those unfaithful accounts, which
 536. he had provided himself with, and which he had made use of with a good intention, without demanding a voucher for the fidelity of them.

Justinian having thus taken his precautions, sent two armies against the Goths; one by land, under the command of Mendus governour of Illyrium, who took Salone in Dalmatia, and soon made himself master of all the province: The other by sea, under Belisarius, who, pretending to go to Carthage, came pouring in upon Sicily, which he conquered without difficulty, there being but a small number of Goths to defend it, and all the towns surrendering except Palermo, which bore a siege but very few days. After which, Belisarius took up his winter-quarters at Syracuse, where he concluded the year of his consulate with magnificent entertainments, and with largesses to the army, as an encouragement to them to behave well the ensuing campaign, which he was to make in Italy.

The weak Theodatus, frightened at these successes of the Emperor, and still more at the war coming upon him in Italy, the thought of which alone made him tremble, had constrained pope Anacletus to go to Constantinople to beg a peace, on such mean and shameful conditions, as to promise even to surrender the Empire for a sum of money, provided he might be permitted to live in safety. But as after the death of Mundus and his son, who had been killed in a rencounter, the Goths with little trouble retook Dalmatia; this prince, as insolent in prosperity, as mean-spirited and dejected in danger, made a jest of the promises he had made to Justinian, and brutally caused the ambassadors to be imprisoned, who were come to grant him his request, and conclude the treaty. Wherefore the Emperour, thinking of nothing but war, sent Constantianus into Dalmatia, which the Goths abandoned at the sight alone of his army; and pressed Belisarius to march into Italy, (e) where Theodatus, as if struck with a lethargy, thought of nothing less than defending himself. Indeed he had at first, when he saw Sicily taken, sent to demand aid of the French kings, to whom he had offered upon that account two thousand pound weight of

(e) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Goth. c. 13.

gold, and to yield Provence to them, which was under the dominion of the Ostrogoths: But this affair was carried on so slowly, that he perished miserably before it could be concluded. Thus Belisarius being sailed out of the port with his whole fleet, landed at Rheggio, without any opposition. Far from that, the people flocked in crowds to receive him, and to surrender to him, transported with joy to see themselves upon the point of being delivered from the tyranny of those Arian Goths, whom they held in detestation. Even Thrimuth himself, son in law to Theodatus, foreseeing the ruin of the Goths, opened the gates of Rheggio to him, where he was in no condition of defending himself: And going from thence to Constantinople, was honoured with the dignity of a Patrician. After this, Belisarius marching by land to Rome, coasted all the while by his fleet, in his march reduced all the cities, except Naples, which he was forced to lay siege to by sea and land, and where the Goths, who were there in a garrison, and who had the greatest part of the city on their side, defended themselves bravely. However he took it in twenty days, having put four hundred resolute soldiers into the town by night, by the means of an aquaduct, who opened one of the gates to the army, and fell upon the Goths behind, whilst on another side they offered to scale the town. So that it being taken by force, they suffered all the rigors of war, the soldiers provoked by so long a resistance, sparing nither age, sex, nor condition, neither things sacred nor prophane; until Belisarius having, with much difficulty, stopped their fury, obliged them to content themselves with the plunder, preserving to the vanquished, their lives, honour, and liberty.

In the mean while the Goths who lived about Rome, openly murmured against Theodatus's cowardice, who took no care of providing for the defense of Naples, which however was the only city that could prevent the enemy's march to Rome. They even began to fear he had a secret correspondence with Justinian, and had treated with him to deliver up to him the kingdom of the Ostrogoths. But when they heard the city was taken, then they proceeded from complaints and murmuring to bare-faced sedition, and all the men of war being met together in a camp, in the neighbourhood of Terracina, Theodatus was declared unworthy of

A.D. 536. of governing the Goths, and Vitiges proclaimed king, a man of bravery, but indeed of no birth, and who had acquired great glory and reputation, from the time that Theodoricus's was in Pannonia. Theodatus hearing this news, endeavoured to escape to Ravenna, but was taken in the road by a Gothick captain, whom he had treated in a dishonourable manner, and, who having laid him upon the ground, cut his throat, as an unhappy victim whom he sacrificed to his revenge, by executing the orders of his new prince. After which, Vitiges, whose forces were not strong enough to fight Belisarius, having left four thousand Goths at Rome under the command of Leuderis, an old officer, recommended the city to the pope Silverius, and to the senate, and carried Theodegildus, and the rest of the troops to Ravenna, where he married Amalasonta's daughter, to strengthen his authority amongst the Goths by the respect they would pay to the blood royal, to which he had just allied himself.

Shortly afterwards, Belisarius, having put a garrison into Naples, and Cumæ, came and presented himself before Rome, where he was immediately received with the applauses of all the Romans who had called him in, and who earnestly wished to see the capital of the empire and of religion, at length delivered from the oppression of Barbarians and Arians. However the safety of the garrison was provided for in good earnest, and it was permitted to retire to Ravenna. (*f*) So that the same time it was marching out thro' the Porta Flaminia, Belisarius's army entred on the ninth of December thro' the Porta Asinaria, which is now that of St. John. Leuderis, who had no mind to go with the troops under his command, whose destruction he foresaw, chose rather to surrender himself to the conqueror, who sent him prisoner to Constantinople, in order to carry the keys of Rome, together with the happy news that the emperor was master of it. After which, Belisarius applied himself with incredible diligence to the rebuilding and fortifying the walls of the city, and to store it with provisions, and all sorts of ammunition to stand a siege, which he foresaw that Vitiges, who was drawing together all his forces, would lay to it. And indeed this king, who had as much conduct as courage, did not fail making immediate preparations, and raising a formidable army, as

(*f*) Procop. Evag. l. 1. c. 18. Niceph. l. 17. c. 13.

well of natural Goths, whom he got together from all parts, as of other barbarous nations, which he took into pay, and of such people as were his subjects in the Gallia Cisalpina, and Liguria. (g) And as he was apprehensive that the kings of France, who had declared for Justinian, might pass the Alps, whilst he was marching against Belisarius, he, with the consent of the Goths, renewed the treaty, which Theodatus had begun with those three princes who promised to assist him, not openly with French troops, nor to break with Justinian, but by foreign troops dependant on them; in consideration whereof Vitiges payed them the two thousand pound weight of gold, which Theodatus had promised, and yielded to them Provence, from whence he recalled Marcias with the troops under his command, and which strengthened his army. (b) And towards the end of this war, Justinian, to gain the friendship of the French, found it advisable for him to confirm that important cession, and to give them up all the rights which he or his successors might at any time pretend to in the Gauls. Thus the entire empire over the Gauls, from the ocean to the Rhine, between the Alps and the Pyrenees, the German sea and the ocean, except the lower Languedoc, was brought under the French; and Arianism, which the Goths and the Burgundians had introduced, was entirely exterminated out of them.

Vitiges, who had secur'd himself on the side of France, only waited for Marcias's arrival to march into the field. But as he had learnt that Belisarius, who was every day pushing on his conquests by his lieutenants, whilst he was fortifying himself at Rome, had already made himself master of a great part of Tuscany after the taking of Narni, Spoleto, and Perugia, he marched out of Ravenna; and without stopping to take in such places as had been reduced, came with one hundred and fifty thousand men in the month of march and sat down before Rome, where Marcias with the troops he had drawn out of Provence joined him. This is doubtless one of the most memorable sieges which has ever been, both from the attacks of the besiegers, and from the defence of the besieged, and especially from the address, and courage of Belisarius, who with five or six

(g) Piedmont, Lombardy, and the river of Genoa.
bell, Goth.

(b) Procop. l. 3. de.

A. D. thousand men, which during all the time of the siege, (which continued above a year), were not reinforced with above seven thousand men, that he received from the emperor, not only defended himself but had several engagements, between the walls and the camp of the Goths. As the Particular of this siege, and the extraordinary actions performed at it, make no part of my history, I may be excused entring into a description of them, without injustice to my reader, who, when he pleases, may read them with much more pleasure in the fine French translation of Procopius. (*i*)

Indeed what was particular, and very strange, and belongs to my subject is, that during the siege, the Goths, tho' Arians, and extremely exasperated against the Romans who had deserted them, never meddled with the churches in the suburbs, which they were masters of, nor the chapels of the holy Apostles, which were without the city, and allowed the priests, whose character they respected, all the liberty they could desire in a full peace, to perform their office, and celebrate the divine mysteries. And yet Belisarius, who boasted to have delivered Rome from the tyranny of the Arians, shamefully sacrificing his honour and conscience to a woman's passion, was oppressing the Roman church in a more unworthy and cruel manner, than ever the Goths had done. The empress Theodora, an Eutychian Heretick, one of the wickedest women that ever had been, and by whom Justinian, who had married her for her beauty, suffered himself to be governed, had never been able to prevail on Silverius, to reestablish the patriarch Anthimus a Heretick, who had been deposed by pope Agapetus, whilst he was at Constantinople. (*k*) Wherefore, as the deacon Vigilius had, from a most detestable ambition, promised to oblige her, and to give her a vast sum of money, if she could bring about his election to the papacy, (*l*) she wrote to Belisarius, to find a way by some supposed crime, to get Silverius deposed, and set Vigilius in his place, who himself carried the letters to Belisarius, to whom he promised two hundred pound weight of gold, (*m*) provided he would immediately put the empress's orders in execution.

(*i*) Procop. l. 2. c. 4. (*k*) Anastas. Biblioth. Liberat. in Brev. Procop. l. 1. c. 25.
 (*l*) Liberat. (*m*) 22400. crowns.

Belisarius at first shuddered at so infamous an action, (n) But fearing lest Theodora should ruin him with the emperor, after having to no purpose protested, like Pilate, that he who had procured these orders should answer it to God, he was base enough to put them in execution, and to admit two false witnesses to depose, and make appear, by counterfeited letters from Silverius to Vitiges, that he intended to betray one of the city-gates to him. Whereupon, as he had sent for him to his palace, and he and his wife Antonina, had in vain endeavoured to stagger him, by representing to him the great danger he was in, and to persuade him to obey Theodora, he was stripped of his pontifical vestments, upon the spot, and dressed in a monk's habit by the chief of the clergy who had been gained over, who the next day had Vigilius elected, an intruder, a schismatick, a person guilty of simoniacal practices, a persecutor, and at last a murderer of the true Pope. For the emperor having sent for him from Patras, the place of his former exile, in order to have his cause re-examined, (o) Belisarius, corrupted by Vigilius, put him into his hands: and that Antipape having sent him into the island of Palmaria, where Silverius, a prisoner as he was, acted like a real pope, and excommunicated him, he so much resented it, as to starve him to death, thereby crowning him with a glorious martyrdom. Thus, by a prodigious confounding of all things, the Arians preserved the rights of the church out of Rome, at the same time they were besieging it, and the Catholicks oppressed it within, after the basest manner that could be, whilst they were fighting in its defence. But when once passion has got the mastery of the soul, and has banished reason, there is nothing so irregular, so wicked, or so monstrous, of which it is not capable. What was still more wonderful here was, that, after the death of Silverius, the clergy, who, endeavouring to avoid a schism, had, after a six days vacancy, (p) again acknowledged Vigilius as their lawful sovereign Pontif, he became, by the grace of the Apostleship, quite another man, and performed so many fine things, in defence of the same faith, which he had unhappily endeavoured to betray, in order to make himself Antipape. Which plainly demonstrates, that truth and constancy in the faith is not annexed to the person, but to the chair of St. Peter, and his successors.

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A. D. In the mean while the forces of Vitiges were daily dwindling
538. away before Rome, by the wise conduct and generous resistance of Belisarius: and at length the famine, which was so prodigious That year all over Italy, that in some places it revived the examples of That at Jerusalem; the plague that seized upon his army, the sea and land armies which came from Constantinople, and the diversion which Belisarius afterwards gave him in the marches of Ancona, and in Romania, forced him to raise the siege, towards the twentieth of March, a year and nine days after it had been begun. However, he did not lose courage; for having reinforced the garrisons of the most considerable places in Tuscany, he marched into Romania, where the Imperialists were making the strongest diversion; and went and sat down before Rimini, which they had made themselves masters of a day's journey from Ravenna. And having advice at the same time that Milan, in order to throw off the yoke of the Arians, had surrendered to Belisarius's troops, by the interposition of the holy archbishop Dacius, and that a great part of Insubria and Liguria were following the same example, he immediately sent his nephew Urajas, with whom ten thousand Burgundians of the troops of Theodebertus king of Austrasia joined, as if they had done it of themselves without their king's order, who had not as yet a mind to break openly with Justinian. Belisarius marching out of Rome, to succour two towns of that importance, turned towards the marches of Ancona to join with Narces, who was just come with fresh supplies of men from Constantinople. He with them forced Vitiges to raise the siege from before Rimini, and to retire with some disorder to Ravenna. He sent an handsome reinforcement of troops to relieve Milan, whilst he took in the places he could not leave behind him. But his differences with Narces, who refused to obey him, and the slowness and want of resolution of those who had the conduct of the supplies, occasioned the Roman garrison, reduced to extremity, to surrender, their lives being granted them, notwithstanding the brave exhortations of Mundilas, who would have had them sally out sword in hand, rather than surrender themselves prisoners of war, and be witnesses of that desolation, which he foresaw would happen to that great city. In reality, the Goths exasperated to the last degree at their calling in the Romans, discharged all their fury upon this city, the finest
in

in all the western empire, except Rome, with so much barbarity, *A. D.* (q) that they entirely ruined it, having without mercy massacred 538. all the males to the number of three thousand, without any distinction of age, and made all the wives and maidens prisoners. So that on this occasion the cruelty of the Goths gave the precedent of an inhumanity more than barbarous, which has always stood single in its kind, and which will without doubt eternally continue so.

But they went not long unpunish'd. Theodebertus king of Austrasia had had Provence for his share, when it was yielded up by Vitiges: and seeing how miserably Italy was torn to pieces between the Romans and the Goths, who, by mutually destroying each other, were extremely weakened, he thought he might easily become master of it, and annex it to the monarchy of France, notwithstanding his agreement with each party; for he wanted neither reason, nor pretences to break it. The vanity of Justinian, (r) who, amongst other titles, stiled himself conqueror of the French, gave him a specious pretence to make war upon him, to revenge the injury done to his people; and the enmity that was between the Goths and the French, ever since Alaricus's defeat by the great Clovis, besides their difference in religion, might have raised some new discontent or quarrel between the two nations. However that might be, Theodebert, resolving to make an advantage of this opportunity, passed the Alps, with an army of one hundred thousand effective men, (s) amongst which were some Germans, still Heathens, who did things which Procopius wrongly attributes to all the French without distinction. At first Theodebert made no attempt against the Goths, for fear they might hinder his passing over the Po: but when they themselves, who imagined he was come to their assistance, had given him passage below Pavia; he then fell upon their camp, which was not far from the Roman army, commanded by a lieutenant of Belisarius, and easily made himself master of it, cutting to pieces the greatest part of their unfortunate troops, who were far from expecting such treatment. In the mean time the Imperialists, seeing the Goths running in disorder towards Ravenna, imagined it was Belisarius's army, which, coming to their assist-

(q) Procop. l. 2. de bell. Goth. c. 21.
bell. Goth. c. 25.

(r) Agath. l. 1.

(s) Procop. l. 2. de

A.D. 538. ance, had routed the enemy. Wherefore, marching out of their camp, they came up to him, in order to receive him with great acclamations. But they were strangely surprized when they saw men coming towards them sword in hand, and whom they were obliged to fight. The battle however was not long, for as they did not come for that purpose, but to receive friends, and not enemies, they were soon put into disorder, and forced to fly; abandoning even their camp, which was plundered by Theodebert's army, as well as that of the Goths. But the distempers that seized this great army, for want of provisions, in a country quite desolated by war, and famine, forced Theodebert, who had already lost the third part of it, to march back into France, (t) after leaving reinforcements in the strong towns of Liguria under the command of Leutherus, and Bucelinus, who during these wars often made excursions all over Italy

539. Belisarius being delivered from so dangerous an enemy, happily accomplished his enterprize. For having taken all the places which the Goths still held in Tuscany, in the marches of Ancona, and in Romania, he at last came with all his forces and besieged Vitiges in Ravenna. And as on one hand he had no more enemies in the field, as he was master of the Sea, and of the Po, and of all the armies, and had found means, by the intelligence he had in Ravenna, to have the magazines set on fire, he soon reduced the city to great extremities. So that the Goths, and Vitiges himself, who could no longer make any resistance, and who were apprehensive that Justinian might treat them ill, resolved to offer to surrender to Belisarius, provided he would accept the crown which they proffered him, protesting they would obey him, as they had done Theodectus. Belisarius, who had no great number of troops, amongst which were some, whom he did not greatly confide in, and who besides was afraid that Urajas, who was mustering the Goths from all parts, might fall upon him, pretended to accept the conditions, and was thereupon received into Ravenna, with his army, asking of the Ostrogoths. But as soon as he saw himself absolute master, he shewed them that he preferred his duty to a crown. For Justinian having recalled him to command an army

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against the Persians, he carried Vitiges, the queen his wife, and children, and the chief Ostrogoth lords, to Constantinople, where Justinian by all sort of kind treatment, endeavoured to render their change of fortune more supportable. A. D. 540.

In the mean time the Goths finding themselves deserted by Belisarius, who had promised them to be their king, resolved to chuse themselves one. To this end, being assembled together at Pavia, which was as it were their last retreat, at first elected Urajas. But he, fearing lest the ill fortune of his uncle, always unhappy, might pursue him too, by contagion, or might make him odious, persuaded them to fix upon Idibaldus, who still held Verona, and who might expect assistance from Theudis, king of the Visigoths, whose nephew he was. Idibaldus accepted the crown, upon condition nevertheless that they should make one attempt more upon Belisarius, to oblige him to keep his word. But as he saw the temptation of a crown could not shake his fidelity, and that he was set out from Ravenna for Constantinople, he declared himself king of the Goths, tho' he had not at that time above a thousand men. (u) But the great care he took to reunite the Goths, and the extreme disorder amongst the Romans, by the dissensions of their leaders, soon put him into a condition to take the field, and to recover great part of Insubria, and of the territory of the Venetians, where, at the battle of Tarvisa, he defeated the Roman army commanded by Vitalius, one of Justinian's lieutenants. This victory was beginning to make his name famous and formidable, when one of his guards, whom he had cruelly injured by giving his wife to another, cut off his head at an entertainment, at the instant he was holding it down to eat. Upon this a dissension ensued among the Goths, in their choice of a new king. The Rugians, whom they had adopted, placed Evaricus upon the throne. But as he had not the qualities necessary to support so great a dignity, in such difficult times, the rest killed him about a month afterwards as they had concerted the design before-hand with Totila, Idibaldus's nephew, and governor of Tarvisa, who was upon the spot proclaimed king, with the unanimous applause of all the Goths, who were in hopes he would again establish their affairs. 541.

(u) Procop. l. 3.

A. D. And sure enough, he made good their expectations. For tho' he
 541 had but five thousand men, yet he had the courage to pass the
 Po, and attack the Roman army consisting of twelve thousand
 men, which he so totally defeated near Faenza, that he brought
 off all the colours, as the sign of an entire victory: and this was
 soon followed by a second, which his troops gained near Florence,
 over another army, which was come from Ravenna to the relief
 542. of that city. After which Totila, who found himself master of
 the field by these two victories, having traversed all Tuscany,
 passed the Tybur, and left Rome on the right, entered Samnium,
 and Campania, (*) took and razed Beneventum, besieged Naples,
 and as, during the siege, his army was grown very powerful, by
 an infinite number of Goths, who came in crowds to him from all
 parts, he by his lieutenants made himself master without resist-
 ance of Apulia, Calabria, and the other provinces, from which he
 drew immense sums, which had been there collected and laid up
 for Justinian.

It was during this famous campaign of Totila, that God, to
 convince the Arian Goths, and to put a stop to their fury, (y)
 wrought those extraordinary miracles, which St. Gregory gives us
 an account of in his dialogues, and which in so miraculous a manner
 shewed the holiness of those eminent servants of God, Cassius,
 Fulgentius, and Sabinus, bishops of Narni, Otricoli, and Ga-
 nusa, of the young Benedictus whom the Goths threw into a burn-
 ing oven, from whence he came out the next day unhurt. (z) But
 in particular of the Patriarch St. Bennet. For he not only dis-
 covered him whom Totila had caused to put on his cloaths, in
 order to find if this holy abbot was so great a prophet as was
 reported; but likewise when he saw that prince prostrate at his
 feet with the greatest respect, having gently raised him, and
 advised him to be for the future more human, he foretold him
 that he should take Rome, that he should pass forward as far as
 Sicily, and should die after a reign of ten years. The truth of
 this prophecy very soon began to appear, and the saint's exhorta-
 tion contributed much towards softening Totila's mind. Whilst

(*) Abruzzo. Terra di Lavori
 (?) Dial. l. 2. c. 14. and 15.

(y) Gregor. Dialog. l. 3. c. 5, 6, 13

he laid siege to Naples with the greatest part of his army, (a) the *A.D.*
 other took Cumæ, and the rest of the towns along the sea; but he 542.
 would not allow such as surrendered to be treated ill. He even
 set the prisoners at liberty, and especially the Roman ladies,
 taken in some of those places. He sent them away free, with
 all sorts of honours, which he caused to be paid them: Which gained
 him the reputation of a wise and generous prince at Rome.

In short, after the fleet, which the Emperor had sent to relieve
 Naples, was unfortunately lost by a tempest, in sight of the
 port, the city reduced to extremities, surrendered to Totila, who
 used the Citizens and soldiers with so much lenity, as they could
 not have expected kinder offices from their relations and friends,
 than those he caused to be done them, to restore them to a tolera- 543.
 ble condition, after the cruel famine they had undergone. And
 what was still more wonderful was, that at the same time, behav-
 ing with great severity towards his own men to preserve discipline,
 he put to death one of the bravest soldiers in his army, who had
 ravished a virgin, to whom he gave all his estate which he had
 confiscated. So much this prince, wholly Arian as he was, had
 learnt to make a good use of the advice and instructions of St.
 Bennet. But it must be acknowledged, that besides his being
 master of a great soul and noble sentiments, Policy had a great
 share in this action. For he had a mind to gain the esteem and
 affection of the Romans, and Italians, by shewing them the dif-
 ference between the Goths, who behaved like the ancient Romans,
 and the Grecian commanders, and soldiers, who dealt with them
 like so many Barbarians, treating them with all sort of inhu-
 manity. He also wrote an excellent letter to the Roman senate,
 to invite them early to return to their duty by owning this dif-
 ference, and recalling to mind the many benefits, they had for-
 merly received from Theodoricus, and Amalasonta. The governour
 prevented their returning any answer to those letters, but he
 could not hinder their fixing them up by night in all the publick
 places. Wherefore being apprehensive of some correspondence at
 Rome, he turned out all the priests, that were Arians, and who had

A.D. been allowed to live there after the reduction of it, and whom he
 543. certainly had reason to respect.

However, this lenity of Totila was not lasting. For seeing the Romans made no return to his offers, and that Justinian had sent Belisarius back into Italy, to oppose his progress, he altered his conduct; and, to strike a terror, went over to the other extreme, and grew cruel. For turning against Belisarius, who was marched
 544. towards Ravenna with a very small body of troops, after taking Tivoli, by some intelligence he had in the town, he put all the inhabitants, and the bishop himself, to the sword. From thence having with ease made himself master of the passages over the Tibur, to prevent all communication with Rome by that way, as he knew Belisarius could not long keep the field, he went back, into the marches of Ancona, where he took Ascoli and Fermo, and most of the other places, (b) and laid siege to Osimo, the strongest town at that time. But as succours were thrown into it, he of a sudden passed the Assensim, and having in his passage taken Assisa, Spoleto, and the rest of the towns in Umbria, he came and sat down before Rome, with so numerous an army, that he had men enough to besiege Placentia at the same time,
 545. the only place the Imperialists had remaining on the Po, and which not being relieved, was at length obliged to surrender.

In short, since the siege of Jerusalem, never was any thing more deplorable than the fortune of the Romans. There was hardly any provisions in the city by the negligence and extreme avarice of the Grecians, who minded nothing but plundering and heaping up wealth; nothing could be got into it either by land or water, all the avenues being in the possession of the Goths, who were masters of the field, the Tibur, and the sea. The ships laden with corn, which pope Vigilius, who was retired into Sicily, was sending thither, taken by the enemy. Bessas and Canon, two Greek officers, who commanded in Rome, were mere cowards, who never dared once sally out, to favour the throwing in relief; and Bessas, was so unmercifully covetous as to keep up the Corn, which there still remained at Rome, to sell it at an excessive rate. Besides the Grecian succours, which were to come by land, having debarqued at

(b) Auximum,

Otranto

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Otranto, made but very slow marches, often meeting enemies in their rout which stopped them; and Belisarius, who was coming by sea, had neither the troops, nor the fortune or good luck that attended him in the former war. In short, all relief failing the Romans, the famine grew to such a height, that every thing being consumed even to the very weeds, and even such things the very imagination of which strike the greatest horror, most of them died miserably either in their flight, or in the city, of faintness or of despair; for many were seen whom their rage armed against their own life, and among the rest a Roman citizen, who, one day hearing the mournful cries of his children asking bread, coldly bid them follow him, as if he was going to give them some; but when he was got upon the bridge of the Tibur, suddenly wrapping his cloak round him he threw himself into the river before their eyes.

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At last, some Isaurian soldiers of the garrison, being no longer able to bear the inhumanity of Bessas, nor the famine they themselves suffered from the small subsistence he allowed them, treated with Totila, and one night opened to him the Porta * Asinaria, thro' which he entered Rome, followed by his whole army, which he drew up in order of battle, in the square, expecting till it was day. In the mean while Bessas, with most of the Greeks, and a very few of the Senators, betook themselves to flight all in disorder and abandoned every thing; but Totila would not suffer them to be pursued, saying that nothing was more agreeable than to hear an enemy was flying. As soon it was day, Totila finding himself master of the city, went to St. Peter's church, there to return God thanks for his victory, and the arch-deacon Pelagius, whom this Prince, to whom he had been often deputed, much esteemed, made him so handsom a speech, as exceedingly mollified him. For after reproaching the Senate with their ingratitude to the Goths, he satisfied himself with giving the city to be plundered, saving the lives, liberty, and honour of the Vanquished. So that, except twenty soldiers and about threescore of the citizens who were killed at first, before his prohibition, no blood at all was spilt. Totila took great care also of the honour of the ladies. But as all the wealth was left at the discretion of the Goths, who were far from sparing any thing, the ladies, and among the rest, the illustrious Busticiana, the daughter of Symmachus, and widow of

546.

VOL II.

M m

Boëtius,

* St. John's Gate.

A. D. 546. Boëtius, and the Roman Senators were seen despoiled of all they had, and turned out of their own houses, forced to beg their bread from door to door, of those very Goths, whom they saw enriched with their spoils.

Totila himself pitied them, and was desirous of re-establishing Rome, by putting an end to so fatal a war. To this end, he sent Pelagius and Theodorus, one of the chief Senators, to Justinian, to propose a peace to him, by restoring things to the same condition they were in under the reigns of Anastasius and Theodoricus. But seeing his proposals eluded, and his forces beaten in Calabria, he took the barbarous resolution of turning Rome upside down. And indeed several of those proud monuments of the magnificence of the ancient Romans were destroyed, and they began to set fire to the houses, a good part of which were consumed; but Totila's fury was stopt by Belisarius himself, who writ to him, and gave him to understand, that if he came off conqueror at the conclusion of the war, he would do himself the greatest injury in the world, to destroy Rome; and if he was conquered, he must expect no favour from the Romans. Wherefore contenting himself with demolishing a third part of the walls in different places, that he might not be obliged to leave a great part of his army in garrison, he marched away towards Apulia and Calabria, against the Greeks, carrying away with him the Senators, after dispersing the rest of the Romans with their wives and children all over Campania, not leaving a soul at Rome. It was not very difficult for Belisarius upon this to get into it again, and repair all its breaches, as he actually did, causing all his army, together with the Romans, who flocked in from all parts to him, to work upon them night and day, so that Totila being not long after returned, met with a vigorous repulse. This was the last of Belisarius's fortunate actions, and almost the only one he performed in this second war he came upon into Italy; for being rudely treated by Totila in Calabria, he retired, with little honour, into Sicily, and from thence to Constantinople, whither he was recalled by the Emperor, ill satisfied enough with his conduct. Thus the greatest men, after performing the most fortunate and shining actions, have always reason to guard against vanity, from the just apprehensions they ought to be under, that one unlucky event, in the conclusion, may

may ruin them in the minds of the greatest part of mankind, *A. D.* who, by a secret malignity, are not sorry to forget the part good, 548. to dwell upon the present evil.

In the mean while Totila, freed from so dangerous an enemy, every where made a prodigious progress: and meeting no forces in the field able to stand against him, easily made himself master of every place he attacked. But that spirit of cruelty, which Heresy inspires, at the same time made him sully his victories, by two or three actions that shewed the persecutor and a Tyrant. For one of his lieutenants having taken Perugia, (c) a little after Belisarius's retreat, and sent to know of the king what he would have done with St. Herculanus, who was bishop of it, he commanded his head to be struck off: (d) which was executed upon the walls of the city: And forty days after, his sepulchre being opened, his body was found entire, with the head fast on it, (e) God thereby in a signal manner shewing the holiness of the martyr, and the truth of the faith, which he had signed with his blood against the Arians. Totila even had Cerbonius bishop of Populonium, (f) thrown to bears, for saving the lives of some Romans, whom the Goths would have massacred, had he not charitably given them refuge, and hid them in his house. But the bears, less savage than this king, having shewn a regard to the virtue of the good bishop, Totila was afraid to go any farther. He acted with more cruelty against Laurianus, a priest of the church of Milan, who had courage enough to exclaim with an ardent zeal against his excesses, and especially against his Heresy. For the holy man being retired into Spain, where his uncommon merit created him bishop of Seville, Totila sent to Theudis, king of the Visigoths, for his head, who would not have failed sending it, had not the holy man escaped to Rome; and some time after as he was returning to Spain, (g) he was taken by some of Totila's men, who were hunting every where for him, and who struck off his head, which being carried to Seville, delivered them from the plague, according as he himself had foretold.

(c) Procop. l. 3.
c. 11.

(d) Greg. Dial. l. 2. c. 13.

(e) Greg. Dial. l. 3.

Jul. Marian. l. 5. c. 8.

(f) A town in ruins near Piombino.

(g) Martyr. Rom. 4.

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Theudis soon received the reward of his base complaisance to Totila; for he was shortly after killed by a traitor, who pretended himself mad, in order to perpetrate this action. Theudis was his relation, and Totila's nephew, was set upon the throne in his room by the Visigoths; but he grew so insupportable to his subjects by his debaucheries, and cruelties, that even his own people killed him at dinner, in the second year of his reign, this unfortunate prince having made no advantage of seeing the perpetual miracle of Oset, near Seville, the truth of which he resolved to examine and prove.

At that time there was in this small town of Andalusia a magnificent church belonging to the Catholics, (*b*) whom the Arians, called Romans, and those baptismal fonts were to be seen, built of beautiful marble in the form of a cross, and of wonderful fine workmanship. The bishop accompanied by all the people, went thither in procession every year on holy thursday, and after the usual prayers, all the people being gone out of it, he had all the doors shut up, and sealed to prevent any body getting in. On holy saturday the bishop followed by the Catechumens who were to receive the holy sacrament of baptism, being returned with the same ceremonies, and having exactly examined the seals; the fonts which before had been left empty, were now found so full, that the water seemed ready to run over on all sides, and yet without shedding one single drop. Then, after the bishop had sanctified it by the holy chrism, and exorcisms, each man to satisfy his devotion took some of it in vessels they had brought, the sacred fonts all the while not at all decreasing, till as the catechumens went on baptizing, the water fell away, and at length was lost, so that after the last person had been baptised, no water was left in the fonts. What was still more wonderful in this miracle, which lasted many years, as formerly that of the fish-pool at Jerusalem did, is, that every time the French, who exactly observed the decree of the council of Nice, in the celebration of easter, did not agree with the Spaniards, as to the day of that great festival: This miracle never failed deciding the difference, in a manner which always confirmed the decision of the council,

(*b*) Greg. Tur. de glor. Martyr. c. 24. 25. Marian. l. 5. c. 8.

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as it happened five and twenty years after, in the face of all Spain, and to the knowledge of the whole earth. (i) For the Spaniards, who had misreckoned, having fixed Easter on the one and twentieth day of march, and the French carried it lower to the eighteenth of April, those miraculous Fonts of Offset did not begin to fill till the fifteenth of that very month which was the thursday before the Easter as the French had fixed it. King Theudisclus therefore believing there was some fraud in it, caused the whole matter to be strictly observed, and the doors guarded: and seeing the miracle still continue, had a ditch five and twenty foot long, fifteen abroad, dug quite round the church, to find out whether there were not some subterranean channels, (k) which might help on the trick. But having discover'd nothing, but still obstinately insisting there must be some artifice in it, because he could not bear that "GOD should manifest the truth of the Catholick faith against "the Arians, by a miracle so publick, and so known to all the "world, GOD punished his incredulity, and hardness of heart, by "that miserable death that sadly took him off in his sin.

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But the measure of Totila's sins was not filled up, and the divine justice was resolved to make use of him, to compleat the chastisement which it had determined to inflict on the disorders of the christians, principally in Rome and Italy. Therefore whilst Justinian, who, by a strain of wrong Politicks, was busying himself with the affairs of the church without minding those of the state, still deferred sending a powerful relief to Italy; Totila, who, except Ravenna, and a very few other places, had reduced it all, came and sat down a third time before Rome, where Belisarius had been able to leave but three thousand men, who at first defended themselves very bravely. But there were some Isaurians besides, who, murmuring for want of their pay, betrayed the city, and opened the gate of St. Paul to Totila, thro' which he entred without any opposition, whilst they made a false attack in another place. He did not now behave as he did the first time he took the city. King Childebert, whose daughter he had demanded in marriage, had reproached him with not being king of Italy, since he had not been able to keep Rome, having abandoned it to his enemies, who had retaken it. He was so stung with this reproach, and thought himself so sensibly

549.

(i) Sigebert. in Chron. Marian. l. 5. c. 11.

(k) Marian. l. 5. c. 8.

A.D. 549. piqued in point of honour, (l) that he resolved to re-establish Rome. He repaired all its ruins with incredible diligence, he stored it abundantly with all manner of provisions, he recalled all that had left it, promising to reinstate them in their effects, he peopled it with Goths, whom he settled there, to make up but one people with the Romans, as it had been in Theodoricus's reign; (m) he allow'd a full liberty to the church of Rome, which pope Vigilius had obtained of him at the request of Childebert, king of France, he at length so fully succeeded in this glorious attempt, that in a small time the city being repaired, he exhibited shews to the people in the Circus, as the antient Emperors did. And yet, as he saw that Justinian, to whom he had sent to demand peace, would not hearken to it, thus neither making war, nor being at peace, he did not forbear arming powerfully, in order to take all the rest from him.

He even equipped a strong fleet, consisting chiefly of the vessels he had taken from the Emperor; and having reduced Rimini and Tarrentum lying at the two extremities of Italy to his obedience, and ordered the castle of Rheggio to be besieged, which at last was forced to surrender, he passed into Sicily, which he ran over, and plundered, out of resentment for its having so easily surrendered to Belisarius. After which he returned to Italy loaded with booty of an inestimable value, there to fight the new army which the emperor had at last resolved to send thither. But as that army was obliged to stop in the way, to make head against new torrents of Gepide's, Eruli, and Lombard's, who having passed the Danube, over-ran Thrace, Macedonia, and Illyrium, Totila saw himself for a whole year peaceful master of the greatest part of Italy, as if there had been no rival to dispute the Empire of it with him: for he had agreed with the French, that they should keep Liguria, and the country of the Venetians, of which Theodebert, had made himself master. So that Arianism, being received at the last gasp, to which it had seen it self reduced after the taking of Ravenna, and of Vitiges, seemed to be going again to ascend the Throne. But God, who was resolved to extinguish it, having punished Italy by so terrible a scourge, at once trampled it under foot by a

(l) Procop. l. 3.

(m) Vigil. Ep. 4. f. 1. Ep. Rom. Pont.

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sudden change of fortune, and buried it under the ruins of the *A. D.*
Empire of the Goths. 550.

For the Emperor astonished at Totila's successes, and ashamed to see himself beaten out of Italy, which he had so gloriously won back, at last resolved not to send any more weak succours as he had till then done, but the strongest body of forces he could under the command of Narfes. (n) As he was a great and celebrated captain, prudent and skilful, brave, munificent, beloved by the soldiery, and in high esteem among foreigners; and besides as Justinian opened his treasures to him, and furnished him with every thing he desired, without sparing any cost, he soon raised a formidable army, wherein besides the Romans, he had the best troops of the *Eruli*, of 551. the *Gepidi*, and of the *Lombards*. Indeed he was sometime detained in *Thrace*, which the *Huns*, after passing the *Danube*, had invaded; whom he was obliged to repulse, before he went any farther. But in the interim, as if fortune designed to prepare the way for him, before he advanced towards Italy, the *Goths*, who had besieged the castle of *Ancona*, were beaten at sea by one of the Emperor's lieutenants, that was in *Dalmatia*, and hastened to the relief of it; and almost at the same time the governor of *Toranto* quitting Totila's service, put the place into the hands of some imperialists, who had made a descent upon *Crotona*. Totila surpris'd at these losses, and astonished at the vast preparations for war, which Narfes was generally reported to be making against him, after 552. having once more in vain endeavoured to obtain a peace, prepared on his side, and sent *Toias*, the bravest of his captains, to *Verona*, to stop Narfes in his passage. But that general foresaw his design; and leaving *Verona* on the right, and marching to the left along the sea, coasted by an infinite number of barks, in order to build bridges upon occasion over the rivers, he soon got to *Ravenna*, from whence, after defeating and killing the governor of *Rimini*, who disputed his passing over the river, he went and encamped in the *Apennine* it self, at the foot of which, near the village of *Taginas*, Totila was encamped, who having rejoined *Toias*, had traversed all *Tuscany*, in order to march directly up to him.

It was not long before they came to a battle. Totila, having ordered Narfes to be informed, that in eight days they would end

(n) *Procop.* l. 4.

their

A. D. their quarrel by a general engagement, marched the next day, 552. early in the morning, to fight him, thinking to fall upon him unawares; but he found him upon his guard, and having made another feint, as if he was retiring, he immediately returned, and came and attacked him in the afternoon. Narfes, who saw into the stratagem, had drawn up his army, without the camp, having ordered his men to dine under arms, each man in his rank, in order to receive the Goths, who came on with great bravery. Totila, who was a General of great experience, and accustomed to victory, omitted no motive that might animate his soldiers, representing to them, "that having always conquered with him, they ought not to fear fortune's leaving them on this occasion, which was the most important, and the last, since this battle would be a final decision of all quarrels. That they should remember, they were the same, who for ten years had been continually beating those cowardly Greeks, who had nothing of the Roman in them but the name, which of right belonged to the Goths, ever since the time of the great Theodoricus, who had made them citizens of Rome, when he made himself master of it. That this great number which they saw, ought not to affright them, consisting only of Huns, Gepides, Eruli, and Lombards, whose designs were upon Narfes's money, and not at all against the Goths; and finally, that neither they, nor the Greeks themselves, were either the braver, or more formidable, for being commanded by a half-man, by Narfes, that Persian Eunuch, who was the last hope of those pretended Romans.

Narfes's speech to his soldiers was very short. He contented himself with encouraging them, by the assurance of victory which he shewed that he was possessed with, and by his generous contempt of his enemies, by making them observe, more by his motions than his voice, "their small number, their disorder, their astonishment at seeing an army drawn up ready for engagement, which they thought to surprise, having no hopes but of surprising them, which had twice failed them, and that it was nothing but despair, and the difficulties they found themselves engaged in, that forced them upon fighting. But above all, pointing to heaven, he put the Roman soldiers in mind, that it was from thence they were to look for victory, and that God had chosen them

“ them at last to deliver Italy, and the Roman church from the
 “ cruel dominion of the Arians. That they ought not to fail to
 “ call on the name of the holy virgin, who would invisibly fight
 “ for them, against those impious men, who intended to deprive
 “ her of the glorious title of the mother of GOD, (o) by endeavour-
 “ ing to rob her son of his divinity by their blasphemies.” And
 indeed Narfes was very devout, especially to the virgin, whom he
 honoured by a very particular worship: and whether by a strong
 application to GOD in devout prayer, he imagined he saw an appa-
 rition, or that he really did see such an apparition, there went a
 report all over the army, that the holy virgin had promised him
 the victory, informing him particularly of the time when he should
 begin the engagement: a circumstance which doubtless served to
 inspire the Romans with bravery, who no longer doubted but
 GOD fought for them.

But what extremely contributed towards the victory, was the dif-
 ferent disposition of the two armies: For Narfes had placed eight thou-
 sand foot in the two wings, all archers, who could easily join in the
 form of a Crescent, in order to surround the enemy, when they
 should have charged in the middle. On the contrary, Totila, all
 whose hopes lay in his cavalry, had ranged them in order of battle,
 upon a line at the head of his army, and had posted all the infantry
 in the rear, to support the horse when they should be pressed, and
 to renew the battle with them. But it happened quite otherwise
 than he had imagined: and that very thing was one of the chief
 reasons of his losing the battle: for as the cavalry, leaving the foot
 behind them, began to ride on full speed, in order to fall upon the
 middle of the main battle, which came against them, they did not
 observe that the eight thousand archers in the two wings, approach-
 ing each other insensibly in order to join, were going to surround
 them, as in fact they did. So that raining upon them a terrible
 shower of arrows, a great number of horse were killed, wounded, or
 dismounted, and put out of a condition of fighting even before
 they could come up to the battalions they were going to attack.
 However they fought like men of resolution, and bore up against

(o) Procop. l. 1. Paul. Diac. de. Gest. Long. l. 1. c. 3. Evag. l. 4. c. 23. Niceph.
 c. 13.

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the force of the Roman army, who attacked them on every side with all manner of advantage. But at last they were forced to give way to the number, and to retire towards their infantry, who had not been able to come up to them. And as they were vigorously pushed by the army, which still advanced, keeping their ranks, against men already in disorder, without giving them time to come to themselves, or to rally, they at last turned their backs, and fell in among their own infantry with so great confusion, that far enough from supporting them, they made off with the utmost precipitation without striking one stroke.

Upon that, the Roman cavalry pursuing them, and mixing with the Gothick cavalry, who in their flight rode over their own men, great slaughter was made of those unfortunate men. For there was above six thousand Goths killed upon the spot, besides what were made prisoners, and to whom, in order to exterminate so dangerous a race of people, they afterwards gave no quarter, no more than to the Roman deserters, who had gone over to Totila, at the beginning of his conquests. As for that unhappy prince, it is certain he was killed, either in the engagement, fighting under other arms than his own, that he might not be discovered by the enemy; or in the pursuit, accompanied by no more than five cavalries, according to the most general opinion; and with him sunk all the fortune of the Goths. For Narses, who knew very well how to make the best use of his victory, having soon reduced all Tuscany, march'd directly to Rome, which he scaled and took, there not being Goths enough to defend so great a compass of walls. However they had time enough to retire into the country about Italy, where they had strong places, and they who had escaped out of the battle along with Toias, being retired to Pavia, unanimously chose him king of the Goths, hoping that so brave a man might still restore their affairs.

553.

And certainly, he was possessed of all the great and shining qualities, that could be desired, to succeed in such an enterprise, had he found as much fidelity in all his people, as he had valour and conduct in himself. For having raised a pretty considerable body of Goths, out of such as he had rallied from the last fight, and of new recruits he had raised in the neighbourhood of Pavia, as he heard that Narses's forces were besieging the castle of Cumæ, where Totila kept the greatest part of his treasure, he had the courage and address

dress to cross all Italy, even to about Naples, thro' by-roads, tho' there were two armies, one upon the Po, and the other in Tuscany, to dispute the passage with him. But Narses, immediately joining them with the troops he had in Rome, marched to meet him at the foot of mount Vesuvius, where the two armies being parted by nothing but the river Sarno, continued skirmishing for two months: Narses not daring to attempt the passage, before an army that was master of the bridge, nor fetch a compass about, for fear the Goths should endeavour to throw relief into Cumæ. But when he that commanded the naval army, from whence Toias drew his subsistence, had betrayed it into the hands of Narses, then that prince who no longer could subsist that way, being forced to retire, went and immediately encamped on a mountain of very difficult access, where he could not be attacked. But as he saw that Narses had invested him with his vast army, in order to starve him there, he and his Goths generously determined to attack him first, and to pass thro' them, or to die gloriously sword in hand. To this end, having made all his cavalry dismount, he of a sudden charged the Roman army, which was at first surpris'd at so brisk an attack, which they did not expect, but however bore up against, tho' in disorder and tumult, till Narses having drawn them up in order of battle, he was obliged to come to a more regular engagement.

It was then that Toias performed an action, which is certainly to be compared with any of those of the greatest Heroes of antiquity. For advancing with some of his bravest men, at the head of his small army, which was advantageously posted at the foot of the mountain, he resolv'd to set them an example, both of fighting, and dying bravely, if they were not to conquer. Having then covered himself with a shield, he march'd sword in hand against the Romans, who having found out who he was, lanced at him their darts and javelins, which he received on his shield, at the same time throwing himself upon the forwardest, whom he prostrated at his feet, and fought thus for three or four hours, changing his shield as soon as he found it quite covered with darts; till at the very instant he was quitting one to take another, he received a blow from a javelin in that part of the side he had left bare, of which he fell down dead on the spot. At the same time the Romans having struck off his head, fix'd it upon the top of a lance, in order to strike a terror into

A. D. 553. the Goths. But they, animated by the sight of so glorious an example, and resolved to die like him, obstinately fought like so many lions till night came on, the Romans not being able to break, or surround them, upon account of the mountain, by which they were covered; and having done the same thing the next day, they sent some of the best quality to Narses, who in the name of them all told him, "That they clearly saw that God had declared against them, and that he had resolved the destruction of their empire; that they were therefore entirely ready to yield it up, no more to make war upon the Romans, and to surrender all the places they held in Italy, provided they were allowed to retire, each with what money they had in the garrisons they still held, and to live according to their own laws, where they should think fit, out of the territories of the empire."

The matter being brought under deliberation, some would have had them obliged to surrender, upon discretion, or conquered by main force, and cut to pieces: But Narses following the counsels of the most prudent, was of opinion, "That it was always dangerous to push the matter to extremities with men that were desperate, and to have to do with people resolved to die in their own defence. That virtue and valour ought to be honoured even in an enemy. That he should lose more by the death even of one of his own men, who might fall in such an unnecessary attack, than he should gain by taking or putting to death those who of themselves yielded all that he could desire or conquer by the gaining of battles. That the general of an army should be satisfied with conquering, without making any attempt on the lives of the conquered, unless when they still dispute the victory with him. And that the most useful, and even the most glorious victory is ever that, which costs the conqueror the least blood, who ought to spare that of his own men, though at the same time he lavish his own to set them an example of behaving well." Thus the conditions were accepted, and the treaty, which the Goths on the other side the Po ratified, was at length honourably executed on both sides, after eighteen years war. So that all the places being put into the hands of Narses's commissioners, and the Goths departed out of Italy, it was at length freed from the dominion of the Arians, seventy seven years after they had invaded it under Odoacer king of the Eruli.

Spain

Spain only remained, which was still under the dominion of the *A.D.*
 Arians, when GOD began her deliverance by the conversion of 553.
 one of her kings. After the death of Theudisclus, the Visigoths
 elected Agila; who having reigned five years in perpetual com-
 motions, always unsuccessful, and always beaten, was at last killed
 by his own officers, at Merida, after losing a battle near Seville,
 against Athanagildus, who had revolted, and who was afterwards 554.
 set on the throne, by the common consent of the Visigoth lords of
 both parties. (p) This prince was no sooner in possession of the
 crown, than he turned his arms against the troops of Justinian,
 which he had called in to his assistance, and which turning their
 own pay-masters, had seized upon some of his provinces. And
 that he might have the assistance of the French troops on occasion,
 he made an alliance with them, marrying his two daughters Gal-
 fuinta and Brunehaud, the former to Chilperic king of Soissons,
 and the other to Sigebert king of Austrasia. (q) These two
 princesses had always been brought up in the Arian heresy. But
 as soon as they came into France, they made profession of the Ca-
 thoilck Faith, and were again baptized in the name of the Father,
 Son, and Holy Ghost, so much the more easily abjuring Arianism,
 as they knew that their father Athanagildus was not at all attach-
 ed to it. And indeed, that prince not only always favoured the
 Catholicks, in his kingdom, but they say he too was one in his
 heart, tho' he always pretended to be an Arian, purely out of hu-
 man policy, to avoid the hatred of the Visigoths, for whom he had
 occasion in the wars he made during his whole fifteen years reign,
 upon the auxiliary Greeks, whom he endeavoured to rid Spain of,
 which however was not brought about but by his successors. (r)

But if Athanagildus, meanly betraying his conscience, had not
 the courage to profess that truth publicly, which in his soul he
 believed, GOD seemed resolved to make up that loss to himself,
 by the generous confession of faith which Theodemir king of the
 Suevi, made about that time which was followed by the conversion
 of his whole people. Above an hundred years had now passed since
 king Remismond, the same that established the Empire of the

(p) Marian. l. 5. c. 7. (q) Greg. Tur. l. 4. c. 28. Aim. l. 5. c. 4 & 5. Venant.
 Fort. Car. l. 6. Lucus. Tud. Marian. *ibid.* (r) Isidor. Marian.

A.D. Suevi in Galicia, had turned Arian, in consequence of the fatal
 554 alliance he made with Theodoricus king of the Visigoths. And
 altho, since that time, there were several kings who reigned over
 that people, (s) yet history has made no mention of them till this king
 Theodemir, who brought back all his nation to the Catholick faith,
 upon the following occasion. His son Ariamire, afflicted with
 560 an incurable disease, (t) having to no purpose tried all remedies,
 and hearing of the miracles that St. Martin of Tours wrought
 at his so celebrated tomb, particularly at this time, he sent mes-
 sengers to obtain of him his son's cure, presenting him with an
 offering of as much gold and silver as the sick prince weighed.
 However his devotion had not the wished-for success. At the
 return of these messengers, his son still found himself worse, and
 as he heard that the others who had begged the same favour of
 God, by the intercession of that great Saint had notwithstanding
 obtained it, he immediately imagined that the Arianism he pro-
 fessed, so contrary to the faith of St. Martin, had been the true
 occasion of his failing. He therefore sends back the messengers
 to Tours, promising to God to embrace that faith with his whole
 heart, if he received the favour, he so ardently wished for: And the
 messengers being returned with the cloth that they had spread over
 the Saint's tomb, Ariamire on a sudden found himself so perfectly
 cured, that he went himself, with extreme respect, to receive those
 who brought him as a relick that cloth sanctified by touching the
 the body of his benefactor.

It happened, by a wonderful turn of the divine providence, that
 another Martin of the same country with the Saint, and who was
 a man of a very extraordinary virtue, and uncommon learning,
 as his works demonstrate, came at the same time to Galicia, and
 arrived on the very day that the king's messengers landed from
 on board their vessel with the precious deposit they brought with
 them. He did not omit immediately to lay hold on so fair an
 opportunity of making the acquisitions of a whole kingdom to
 JESUS CHRIST. He went and presented himself before the king
 who being resolved to perform his vow, was very glad to meet

(s) Isidor. in Chron.
 l. 5. c. 9.

(t) Greg. Tur. mirac. St. Mart, l. 1. c. 11. Marian.

BOOK XI.

The History of ARIANISM.

279

A.D.
552.

with a man capable not only of instructing him, but likewise of persuading his people to follow his example, and to renounce Arianism. And God giving a blessing to the discourses of so excellent a man, by the signs, and miracles which confirmed the truth of what he preached to them, he succeeded so happily, (u) that as soon as the king (after having confessed in a publick manner, the unity of essence in the three persons of the adorable trinity) had received baptism, in the name of the Father, Son and holy Ghost, together with prince Ariamire, and the whole court; all the nation of the Suevi begged the same favour: (x) And it is said they received it with so much zeal and benefit, that they were all disposed to suffer martyrdom to maintain the faith they embraced, should the occasion offer it self. Afterwards this great man, (y) now become the apostle of the Suevi, founded the monastery of Dumes, which was changed into a bishoprick, of which he was the first bishop, and some time afterwards this church being united to that of Brague, then a part of the kingdom of Galicia, he was made metropolitan of it. It was by his advice that Theodemir, caused the second council of Brague, to be held, in the third year of his reign, and the second of Lugo, a year before his death; and that three years after Ariamire, his son and successor, commonly called Miron, had another assembled at Brague, in the second year, of his reign. In those councils the Catholick faith was confirmed against all the heresies, and very excellent canons were made, to settle the discipline of the church. St. Martin, who as Metropolitan of Brague, presided at this last council, inserted them in the collection he made of the canons of the Eastern councils, which he translated into Latin for the use of the Spanish churches, and the same year sent them to the bishops assembled in the second synod of Lugo. (z) In short, he laboured to so good an effect by the sermons he made, by the books he composed, by the holy instructions he gave for all sorts of persons, by the monasteries and churches he founded, and by the shining example of his own life, that this church began again to flourish in all manner of shining virtues. But this happiness was not lasting, and heresy, which seemed sinking in

563.

569.

572.

(u) Isid. in Chron. Suev.

(x) Greg. Tur. ibid.

(y) Marian. l. 5. c. 9.

(z) Isidor. de Script. Eccles. c. 22.

Spain,

A. D. Spain, soon recovered new strength, by the change that happened
 572. upon Athanagildus's death, who expired at Toledo, in the sixteenth year of his reign.

The Visigoths, whose kingdom was in great confusion, occasioned by the faction of such as favoured the Imperial troops whom Athanagildus could never free his country from, had some trouble in the choice of his successor. (a) And after an interregnum of six months, they at last elected Liuba, the noblest, and most powerful amongst them, and who being settled at Narbonne for seven years, pretty absolutely governed that part of the Narbonese province, (b) which as yet belonged to the kingdom of the Visigoths. But as this prince loved a life of repose, and the present state of their affairs required a warlike king, he thought proper, in the second year of his reign, to make his brother Leuvigildus his partner in
 569. the government, to whom he resigned all Spain, reserving to himself that small canton on this side the Pyranées, which he was very
 572. fond of, and which he notwithstanding kept not long, for he died soon after, and by his death left the whole kingdom to Leuvigildus. This prince, who may be said to have been the greatest king the Visigoths ever had, since the first Alaricus, had all those shining qualities, that go to the making of a conqueror, and these supported besides by the bravery and extraordinary merit of his two sons, Ermenegildus and Recaredus, whom he had had by his first wife Theodosia, daughter of the famous Severianus, duke, or governor of the province of Carthagera, and of royal blood, whose marriage was favoured by a particular blessing from heaven, and which had never its like in the world. For all his children, tho' born in the very bosom of Arianism, amongst Goths of the highest quality, were not only Catholics, but eminent for their piety, as Leander and Isidorus bishops of Seville, Fulgentius bishop of Astigi, Florentina an Abbess, and this Theodosia, who was mother of another Saint, as she was also of Ermenegildus. After her death, Leuvigildus, who already was the brother of a king, engaged in a second marriage very different from his first, taking Gosiunda, daughter to the deceased king Athanagildus; and had he not taken this Fury into his family, who was the cause of innumerable disorders,

(a) Luc. Tudens. Marian.

(b) Lower Languedoc,

which

which disturbed the happiness of it, as well as that of the state, he *A. D.*
 had beyond contradiction been the most glorious prince that had 572.
 till then reigned in Spain: For nothing can be added to the high
 reputation he had gained both in peace and war.

As soon as he ascended the throne, he did not fail attacking the
 Greeks, whom he defeated in an engagement, and drove out of
 all the places they possessed along the coast, and upon the moun-
 tains, at present those of Grenada, and Murcia, carrying on his
 conquests without interruption as far as the Streights. He took Cor-
 dova, which had always refused to submit to his predecessor. He
 reduced to his obedience all the nations, who following the example
 of that city, had revolted; and having recovered all that his pre-
 decessors had enjoyed in Spain, he carried his conquests much-
 farther, even to the other sea, and brought under his obedience
 the Cantabri, who are the present Biscayans, the Gascons, (c) and
 the Narvarrese, whom the Romans themselves could never make an
 entire conquest of; and by means of the civil wars between the
 kings of France, regained all that the Visigoths had lost in Septi-
 mania after the defeat of Amalaricus. After which, before he
 turned his victorious arms against the Imperialists, and Suevi, (d)
 whose destruction he had sworn, in hatred to them for their being
 become Catholics, he was resolved to secure the kingdom to his
 posterity, by taking the two brothers Ermenegildus and Recaredus
 into a share of the government and kingdom. The first reigned
 at Seville in Andalusia; the second in the country of the Celti-
 berians, he himself chose Toledo, which from that time became
 the capital of the Empire of the Visigoths. Thus Leuvigildus
 might pass for one of the greatest princes in the world, had
 he not been not only an Arian, but likewise a persecutor of the
 Catholics, with all the rage of the cruellest tyrants that ever con-
 spired against JESUS CHRIST. For, like them, (e) he on one
 side made use of terror, threats, banishment, confiscation of goods,
 prisons, stripes, torments, fire, and sword, and all the severest
 punishments: And on the other, flattery, prayers, money, posts
 and honours, and every thing in the world the most seducing, to

(c) Joan. Bicar. in Chron. (d) Lower Languedoc. (e) Greg. Tur. l.
 5. c. 38. Isidor. in Chron. Goth. Greg. Mag. de glor. Martyr. c. 82.

A. D. 572. oblige his subjects to profess Arianism, causing himself to be re-baptized according to the form of the Arians. And he made such a progress by both methods, as to pervert many, not only of the people, but of the Ecclesiasticks, and even of the bishops, (f) and (which was a great scandal to all Spain) amongst the rest, Vincent archbishop of Saragossa, (g) against whom Severus, the learned bishop of Malaca, composed an excellent treatise, because that infamous Apostate, to gain favour with the king, fought for Arianism like a desperate man. (h) A pious abbot named Vincent, not being able to bear that his name should be prophaned by the apostasy of this archbishop, quitted his solitude to oppose the impiety of the Arians, who not enduring the freedom that pious man took, loaded him with blows, yet not so as to kill him, for fear of his having the benefit of dying a martyr. But being escaped out of their hands as he began to preach against them with more warmth and force than ever, they grew so transported with rage, that, forgetting their former design, they massacred him at Leon before the gate of his monastery. (i) In short, the fury of Leuvigildus's persecution went so far, in order to spread his heresy by force, that he did not spare even his own blood, making a martyr of his son Ermenegildus, in the manner I am going to relate it, according to the sincerity of history, without suffering myself to be carried away by the hatred that has been conceived against the memory of Leuvigildus, or by the love and veneration we ought to have for that of a king crowned with martyrdom.

Leuvigildus being determined to share the government with his two sons, in order to settle them firmly, resolved to strengthen them with the alliance of the kings of France. He obtained Ingonda the daughter of Sigebert king of Austrasia, and of queen Brunehaut for Ermenegildus, and a considerable time after, Ringonda, the daughter of Chilperic for Recaredus. The death of that prince, (k) who was miserably assassinated whilst the princess was on her way, hindred this marriage from taking effect, but the former was happily accomplished; and the princess Ingonda conducted into Spain, with a superb equipage, was received with all

(f) Isidor. in Chron. tyr. Rom. 11. Sept.

(g) Malguc.

(h) Isidor. in Script. c. 31.

(i) Mar-

(k) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38. Marian. l. 5. c. 12.

possible magnificence by Leuwigildus, who was transported to think he had united the blood of King Athanagildus with his own, and to leave the rights of both the royal families to his son Ermenegildus, by that alliance. Queen Gofuinda who was grandmother to Indegonda, ought to have had a mother's tenderness for her, but as she was an Arian, and mortally hated the Catholicks, the unmerciful temper inherent in that heresy, stifled in her all the sentiments of nature, and made her the cruellest of step-mothers. For after having in vain tried all sorts of flatteries and caresses to win her over to be rebaptised after the Arian form, as soon as she saw that her constant answer was, that having been once already baptised in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, she was resolv'd not to receive any other baptism, and that she would eternally confess the trinity of persons in the unity of essence; that furious woman fell into a rage, like a fury let loose, against the innocent princess. She loaded her with all sorts of opprobrious language, and injurious treatment: and even proceeded to such dreadful extremities as to fall on her, like a wild beast, to lay hold of, and with the greatest rage to drag her away by the hair, and dash her against the ground, to load her with innumerable blows, to trample upon her, and having put her into a gore blood, have her thrown into a canal, where with much ado she escaped drowning.

Prince Ermenegildus could not but think himself extremely injured and affronted by such barbarous treatment to a person so dear to him: However he was forced to dissemble upon account of Gofuinda's power. But as at the same time his father had declar'd him king, and assigned him Andalusia, (l) he soon took that opportunity of retiring to Seville, with the princess his wife, in order to secure her from the cruelty of that Megæra. It was here that Indegonda's blood, so gloriously shed for the confession of the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, (m) at last had that fruitfulness which she ardently begged of GOD, and which she happily obtained, by the conversion of Ermenegildus. For she so far prevailed by her tears, her prayers, her fervent exhortations, and the eminent instances of her virtues, that after a long resistance, he at last yielded to the wisdom and spirit which spoke to him by the mouth of St. Leander

(l) Greg. Tur. Ibid.

(m) Greg. Tur. Ibid.

A D. 578. archbishop of Seville, (n) his uncle by the mother's side, who having perfectly instructed him, made him publicly abjure Arianism, giving him the holy Chrism in the name of the most holy Trinity. Leuvigildus hearing of this change, was terribly exasperated: not only from the concern he had in the religion of the Visigoths, but also from state-jealousy, and the suspicions Gofuinda infused into him, which put him upon the greatest extremities. He was afraid lest his son, supported by the Spanish Catholics, and the emperor's troops, who still were remaining in Spain, might make a powerful party to dethrone him, and reign alone. Wherefore his religion, his politicks, and his wife whom he suffered too much to govern, conspiring to put him upon the most melancholy resolutions, he concluded, he must either bring back his son to Arianism, or employ all the force of his kingdom to ruin him.

To this end, he ordered some of the principal members of his council; who waited on him from him, to tell him, "That when he raised him to the throne, before the time he could expect it, it was to have a companion that might assist him in preserving the empire of the Goths, in the flourishing condition he had then just placed it in by his victories, and not to find in his son, a more dangerous enemy than any of those whom he had conquered. That the Greeks so often beaten, and who held but a small corner of Spain, seeing their inevitable ruin in this union of the royal family, had sought the means of dividing it, and of drawing the son over to their party, by a most horrid impiety, arming him against his own father, and had to that end poisoned his mind. That they had seduced him from the religion of his ancestors, into that of the Romans, in order thereby to unite him to them, by the strongest of all ties, and that it engaged him in their interests by making him, under a shew of piety, the most impious of all men, towards God and his father. That such a thought alone, which doubtless would make him shudder, if he had the least sentiment of humanity remaining, ought to open his eyes, to see the falsity of a religion, which would precipitate him into such dreadful extremities, by putting him upon the violation of all the most sacred laws of nature. That, to conclude, he ought

(n) Greg. Mag. Dial. l. 3. c. 31.

“ to know, that tho’ he was on the throne, he however held but *A.D.*
“ the second place there. That his father possessed the first, as 578.
“ Sovereign over his son himself, who was only so in regard to
“ those subjects, whom he held from him. That therefore, as his
“ father, and his king, he commanded him to renounce the impiety
“ he had just embraced under the name of religion, (o) and to
“ present himself immediately at Toledo, before him, to confer toge-
“ ther upon the present state of affairs, and for their common
“ interests, promising him a pardon for what was passed, provided
“ he would obey; on the other hand also protesting, that if he
“ forced him to take up arms, there should be no mercy left
“ for him.

Ermenegildus, who had already taken his last resolutions, answer’d
his father’s deputies in these words: “ That he very well knew,
“ what he owed to his father, and his king; but that neither was he
“ ignorant of what he owed to God. That he hoped from him the
“ grace so perfectly to reconcile these two duties, that without
“ failing either in the respect or obedience that nature obliged him
“ to pay to his father, in what was not against God, he should
“ even to death persevere in the true religion, which the alone
“ consideration of God had made him embrace, without the Romans
“ having had any share in it. (p) As to his journey to Toledo,
“ that he most humbly besought the king, that he would excuse
“ him. That the unjust command imposed upon him, with dread-
“ ful menaces, to renounce his religion, which he was fully deter-
“ mined never to desert, and Gofuinda’s cruel treatment of Ingonda.
“ upon that account, were sufficient excuses before God and man,
“ for his not undertaking it, since neither he nor the queen his wife
“ could be there in safety.

After this answer, Ermenegildus, who plainly foresaw the con-
sequences of it, thought of nothing but preparing for war. Indeed 580.
this Prince’s intentions were perfectly upright, and the end he
proposed was the preservation of the Catholick religion, at the
hazard of his life; and God gave him the most glorious recompence
he could expect in this world, by bestowing upon him the favour
of Martyrdom. However, it must be owned in reality that the
means he took to arrive at that end, was not according to the spirit

(o) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38.

(p) Greg. Tur. Ibid.

A.D. 580. of the gospel, which ordains, that we should renounce father, and mother, and life itself, to persevere in the true religion; but which does not therefore order a son, and a subject, to take up arms against his father, and his king. Nor indeed did God bless the undertaking, nor is it in that view that he is a Saint, but by the constancy he shewed in laying down his life in defence of the Divinity of the Son of God. (q) And certainly, Gregory of Tours, famous at that time for his learning and piety, in very strong terms blames that action; and St. Gregory the great, who has extolled his constancy, in the description of his martyrdom, says nothing of the war he made upon his father, because it can have no share in his commendations. But, in short, the hopes given him of conquering, and then delivering Spain from the tyranny of Arianism, and Gofuinda, made him resolve upon the war, and take all methods to forward its success.

285 And it was for this reason, (r) as his father had foreseen, that he did not omit calling in the Greeks to his assistance, and making an alliance with the emperor's lieutenant, who commanded them in Spain. He went so far as to send St. Leander to Constantinople to the emperor Tiberius to desire fresh recruits, which that prince, perplex'd enough with the war against the Persians, was in no condition to do. And it was there that St. Leander became acquainted with St. Gregory, who resided at the emperor's court (s) on the part of pope Pelagius II. and made that noble and strict friendship with him, of which we have still such excellent fruits, in those fine treatises of morality upon Job, which that holy Pontiff afterwards dedicated to him, he having composed them at his request. Besides, Ermenegildus conjured Ariamire, king of the Suevi, by the concern he had for the Catholick religion, which that prince professed, to assist him with his forces. Leuvigildus too solicited him to come over to his side; and as it is sure he was a party in the war, it is not precisely known whether he came over to Ermenegildus's side, as Gregory of Tours writes, (t) or whether he fell into Leuvigildus's party, whom he was extremely afraid of, and in whose camp it is said he fell sick and died. In short, all Spain was divided. The Arians, who made the strongest party, declared for Leuvigildus, and the Catholicks for Ermenegildus, who having

(q) Greg. Tur. l. 6. c. 43.
 prefat. Moral. & lib. 1. Epist. 41.

(r) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38.

(t) L. 6. c. 43. Marian. l. 5. c. 10.

(s) Greg. in

well stored and fortified Seville and Cordoua, and sent his wife and son into a place held by the Greeks, thought himself in a condition to oppose his father's forces, tho' much superior to his own. A. D. 582.

But on the other side, Leuvigildus more adroit and skilful as of much greater experience than his son, took much surer measures, which broke all his. For in the first place, as he was well acquainted with the avarice and perfidiousness of the Greeks, (u) he treated privately with the chief officers, who for thirty thousand crowns sold the unhappy Ermenegildus to him, promising to abandon him, when they should come to an engagement. And farther, to deprive him of all pretence in regard to religion, which rendred his cause favourable, and engaged all the Catholicks on his side, he thought some expedient was necessary to be found by him, by which, removing or softning what most shocked the Catholicks, in Arianism, some way of accommodating matters might be proposed, to satisfy them, at least in appearance. To that end, he held an assembly of the Arian bishops at Toledo, (x) wherein, in pursuance of his orders, they abolished the custom, introduced by their predecessors, of rebaptising those who came over to their communion; and made a decree, whereby he declared that the Son of God was equal to his father, without distinguishing whether it was by an equality of nature, or of dependance, by the sole will of the father, as they understood it; thus concealing the venom of their heresy, under the fair appearance of a specious name, which might deceive the Catholicks. In effect, this was one of the things most prejudicial to Ermenegildus; for many thinking the cause of division being removed, there was no good reason, nor even pretence for war, left Ermenegildus's party, and others who suspected the Equivication, were however well pleased with the opportunity of retracting with honour, and of getting out of a war, the event of which they already began to fear. In short, Leuvigildus fearing that the French, hearty enemies to Arianism, and already very much exasperated at the barbarous usage Indegonda had received, should come to his son's assistance, sent an ambassador to Chilperic, to renew the alliance, and ask his daughter Ringonda for a wife for his son Recaredus.

(u) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38.

(x) Marian. l. 5. c. 12.

A.D. Gregory of Tours, (y) who received this ambassador named
 582. Agilanes in his journey, says that he was a man of no parts nor study, and yet would be always disputing against the truth of the Catholick Faith, in maintenance of Arianism, being no better furnished than with a few passages, which he proposed, without being able to reply to the true explications which were given to them, and which he understood not. He adds, that as he had, amongst other things, said to him, that he might judge of the falsity of Arianism, by that dreadful kind of death, wherewith God had punished the author of it; this ambassador desired him not to speak ill of the Arians, no more than the Visigoths did of the Catholicks, for, said he, "we hold this maxim among us, that "one may, without any crime, chuse that religion one likes best, "and we have a proverb which is to this effect, that in passing "between a Pagan temple and a Christian church, it is no harm "to bow before each of them." So common a thing is it for heresy by little and little to inspire an indifference in matter of religion in the end, and so fully ought we to be perswaded, that from the moment we quit the true, we are in great danger of having none at all. As the holy archbishop had reproached the Arian ambassador with the impiety of his sect, he brutally left Tours in a passion, protesting he would lose a thousand lives, rather than hold communication with any Catholick priest. The reprimand, however, was of great service to him, for falling dangerously ill at his return to Spain, what he heard from Gregory in that conference, had so powerful an effect upon him, as to make him a convert.

In the mean time king Leuvigildus, having put his affairs into so good a posture, and raised a powerful army, composed of the best troops which he had drawn together, wholly at his leisure, from all the Spanish provinces, began his march, in order to attack Ermenegildus, either in the open field, if he dared appear there, or even in Seville it self, should he shut himself up in it. They say two things happen'd to him in this march, which certainly were capable both to have moved him, and thereupon oblige him to be reconciled to his Son, by becoming a Catholick, after the example he had set him, had not heresy dreadfully

(y) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 43.

hardened his heart. (z) For as his army was on its march along the coast of Valentia and Mercia, towards Andalusia, the Goths that were Arians, who, according to their custom, plundered and sacked all the monastries in their way, fell upon that of St. Martin, where was no body but the Abbot, bending quite double with age, all the monks being escaped by sea to a neighboring Island, to save themselves from the fury of those Barbarians. And as, after having plundered every thing, and loaded the good man with a thousand injuries and affronts, a Goth, the most insolent, and cruel of them all, had lifted up his sword, in order to strike off his head, he fell backwards and died upon the spot, and all the rest of them ran away terribly frightened; which Leuvigildus coming to the knowledge of, ordered every thing that those villains had taken out of the monastery to be immediately carried back again. So extraordinary a punishment, (a) together with so many other wonders wrought every day by the Catholics, gave him some uneasiness. He remembered that Count Gomacarius, governor of Agde, died a miserable death, for refusing to restore to St. Leon a pledge he had usurped from his church; he remembered likewise that the Catholics had twice proved the truth of their belief, by taking two rings, the one out of the midst of a great fire, and the other out of a boiling caldron, without being burnt: Which an Arian attempting to do, lost his arm in the instant, it being burnt to the bone. Withdrawing therefore into his closet alone, he ordered one of the Arian bishops that was in his train to be called to him, and opening his heart to him, he told him he thought it very strange that they, who pretended to profess the true Faith, performed not one Miracle, in confirmation of it, as they were perpetually and daily doing, whom they accused of heresy and imposture. (b) This cunning deceiver, finding himself pinched, answered with the greatest impudence, that he often restored the deaf to their hearing, and the blind to their sight, and that he was ready still to do the same thing in his presence. But he was confounded in the same manner as the Vandal Cyrola, whose imposture he revived. For having hired a poor man for forty crowns

(z) Greg. Tur. de glor. confes. cap. 12. (a) Greg. Tur. de glor. Mart. l. 1. c. 79. ibid. c. 81. & de glor. conf. c. 14. (b) Greg. Tur. de glor. conf. c. 13.

A. D. to pretend himself blind, the wretch really became so, at the
 582. very instant the Arian bishop commanded him to open his eyes, and yet the king, who ought to have been convinced by so plain and notorious a miracle, still shut the eyes of his soul, that he might not see, or rather to feign not to see, the truth which so often offered itself to him, and which, notwithstanding he rejected with the strongest obstinacy: For this did not prevent his going forward, and entering Andalusia, determined either to destroy Ermenegildus, or to force him to a renunciation of the Catholic Faith.

Upon which, having found none that dared keep the field, in order to oppose his army, he went and set down before Seville, where Ermenegildus had shut himself up, confiding in the strength of the place, and the succours he could receive by sea, and in the number and resolution of the inhabitants; almost all Catholics. But Leuvigildus, who had foreseen all this, (c) and who was willing to take the city without running any risque, attempted to starve it, by turning the course of the vast river Bætis by a prodigious canal, (d) which he effected. So that nothing being able to enter into the city, neither by sea, nor land, it was forced to surrender, after a years siege. Ermenegildus, who, seeing matters reduced to the greatest extremities, had found means to escape, some time after appeared in the field with an army chiefly consisting of Greeks, with whom he had made alliance, and who betrayed him. (e) For as they were obliged to come to an engagement, these traitors, who had sold him, retreated just upon the point of charging: So that the unfortunate prince, seeing himself on a sudden deserted, both by those perfidious men, and his own troops, who, finding he was betrayed, betook themselves to flight; had no other choice left than to escape to a church near at hand, as he did, where he thought to find an asylum. It was there that his brother Recaredus, by the king's leave, went to him; and after giving him marks of the tenderness of his friendship, and of his extreme sorrow, by the tears he shed whilst he embraced him, told him very frankly, "That as he commended his constancy in the faith he had embraced, so neither could he help blaming the

(c) Marian. l. 5. c. 12.

(d) Guadelquivir.

(e) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38.

" pernicious

“ pernicious councils that had been given him, and the unjusti-
 “ fiable ways he had taken to preserve it, by making war upon
 “ his father; that such as endeavoured to make advantage of a
 “ division in his family had abused his zeal, by engaging him in
 “ this unfortunate enterprize, under a pretence to piety, wherein
 “ victory, being as fatal to the conqueror as to the conquered, could
 “ be of no use but to their common enemies. That since the evil
 “ was done, it was in vain to pity him; but that it was absolute-
 “ ly necessary to repair it by an early repentance, followed by a
 “ sincere submission. That his religion was not the question here,
 “ for which he was to account to GOD only, but his honour, and
 “ his life, which he could never preserve, but by an immediate
 “ return to his duty, and by imploring the king’s mercy, who,
 “ however victorious, and exasperated, was still ready to remem-
 “ ber that he was his father. That, to conclude, in the present
 “ posture of things, he could possibly come to no other resolution,
 “ than that which the necessity and desperate condition of his
 “ affairs prompted him to. That by remaining obstinate in his
 “ rebellion, (f) and misfortune, he was undone: But that he
 “ could venture to assure him, and even by oath, that if he would
 “ have recourse to the king’s mercy, he might obtain it, without
 “ its costing him his Royalty, which it was not intended he should
 “ lose. ”

Ermenegildus, who saw plainly he had carried his zeal too far, and that it was rather by suffering than resisting that religion was to be defended, resolved upon what his brother, who acted with upright intentions, advised him to, whatever might be the issue. He only desired that it might be in the same church, (g) where he was, that he might be permitted to pay his duty to his father before the altars, which he thought ought to be guarantees of that promise he had just had made to him. Whereupon Leuvigildus, who easily granted it, being entered, the young prince, throwing himself at his feet, most humbly begged his pardon, which the crafty old dissembler, raising him, and kissing him with many testimonies of tenderness, made as if he granted him. (h) But he was no sooner arrived in his camp, whither he conducted him,

(f) Greg. 1. 5. c. 38. (g) Greg. Tur. (h) Greg. Mag. Dial. 1. 3. c. 31:

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583.

584.

than having been able to persuade him, neither by prayers nor threats, to return to the communion of the Arians, (i) he ordered him to be stripped of all the marks of royalty, and condemned him to pass the rest of his days with one single man to serve him in the place of exile which he assigned him. He however altered his mind, and, to make the surer of him, had him thrown into prison loaded with chains in a very dark tower, where this young prince, besides adding the hair cloth, watchings, prayer, and the austerity of a severe fasting to the inconveniencies of his dungeon, prepared himself during some months for martyrdom, which he longed for. And indeed, he was not long deprived of what he wished for, nor of the crown, which he preferred to that his father intended to restore to him, in case he would become an Arian. For Leuvigildus, provoked at his long resistance, sent an Arian bishop to him the very night that the solemnities of Easter began, to persuade him to receive the communion from his hands, as a sign of his returning to the religion of his ancestors. And as Ermenegildus not only refused, but resumed on this occasion the majesty of a king, and that generous pride he had quitted under ashes, (k) and the hair cloth, to make way for the humiliations of repentance; as Ermenegildus, I say, had rejected that false pastor with contumely, reproaching him with his impiety; Leuvigildus, impatient at his thus triumphing over him, captive as he was, fell into such a passion, as to dispatch the executioner Sisbert away to the prison upon the spot, who split his skull with a hatchet, thus crowning him with martyrdom. It could never be known what afterwards became of his sacred body, which care was taken to hide, for fear it should receive of the Catholics the honours due to martyrdom. (l) But God resolved that at the same time heaven should pay them to him, by a celestial harmony, which was heard in the night round the body, stretched in its own blood, in the midst of the dungeon, and by blazing flambeaux, which for a long time appeared over the prison during the night; and the church, following the example and inspiration of heaven, (m) orders

(i) Greg. Tur. I. 5. c. 38.

(k) Greg. Tur. I. 8. c. 28. Greg. Mag. Marian.

(l) Greg. Mag.

(m) Sixt. Quint, 23. apr.

a solemn office to be performed in honour of him, having canonically declared him a martyr.

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Ermenegildus's death was the beginning of a greater persecution. Leuwigildus, more than ever irritated against the Catholics, most of whom had declared for his son, fell upon the bishops, many of which he dispossessed of their sees. He forbore no sort of injury against one of the greatest men that Spain ever produced, (n) the holy, and famous Mausona, arch-bishop of Merida, because he would never deliver up to him St. Eulalia's robe, for fear the Arians should prophane it. Having treated him in the most unworthy manner in the world, he commanded him to be carried to the place of his exile, mounted upon an untamed horse, who he did not doubt would soon tear the holy prelate to pieces. But the fierce animal, paying to his virtue that honour which the impious Arians desired him, all on a sudden grown tractable to him alone, suffered him to get upon him, with a softness that confounded the cruelty of those Barbarians. (o) That Abbot named John, who writ a chronicle of this time, and was made bishop of Girone, in the reign of king Recaredus, was banished the court, and sent to Catalonia, where, at the foot of the Pyrenees, he built the monastery of Biclair, whose name it bears in his history.. Novellus bishop of Alcala, Licinianus of Carthagea, and many others were banished, and abused by Leuwigildus's orders, who spared not even his brothers-in-law, Fulgentius, and St. Leander, the latter of whom, during his exile, writ three excellent treatises against the Arians. Isidore their brother was left behind, by reason of his youth, and the beauty of his parts, whom the king thought might insensibly be gained over by degrees, tho' he never ceased generously combating against Arianism, from his desire of Martyrdom, which he longed for, and from his greatness of soul, and love to God, (p) and from the excellent discourses his brother Leander writ to him on that subject. In short, Leuwigildus did every thing in his power to weaken the Catholics, by confiscating their effects, ruining their churches, seizing upon their revenues, abolishing the privileges of the clergy, and, under some false colours, causing those to perish, who, having the greatest authority, could best defend the good cause.

(n) Marian. l. 5. c. 13.

(o) Isid. de Script. Eccl. c. 31

(p) Id. c. 28.

What

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What was still more deplorable was, he went into the kingdom of the Suevi there to revive Arianism, (*q*) which king Theodemir had banished from thence. For as after the death of Ariamire, who died of sickness at the siege of Seville, his son Eburicus had succeeded him, by Leuvigildus's consent, to whom he in a manner made himself tributary, for the sake of peace; Andeca, who had married the widow of Ariamire, mother-in-law to this prince, deprived him of his kingdom, and confined him in a Monastery. (*r*) Leuvigildus did not fail laying hold of so fair an opportunity, to possess himself of Galicia, under pretence of revenging the injury done to his Ally. He therefore marched into it with his victorious army, which he still kept on foot, and as the usurper had no forces to oppose so great a power, he took him; and, using him in the same manner as Eburicus had been used, had him shaved in a Monastery at Badajos, and made himself absolute master of the kingdom of the Suevi, which he united to that of the Visigoths, obliging his new subjects to return to Arianism.

585.

But though many were found disposed to obey him, either thro' fear or complaisance, yet the course of so great an evil was soon stopped, and by a wonderful turn of the goodness and power of God, Arianism was upon the decline in Spain, when every thing seemed to be given over for lost. For as soon as Leuvigildus had made himself king of it, by this last conquest, as he was returned to Toledo, victorious, and covered with glory, he died there, leaving the empire at his death to a successor, whom God had destined to make it Catholick. There are even some historians, (*s*) who say that this prince, being on his death-bed, detested his own wicked Politicks, which had made him oppose the truth, proved by so many miracles wrought in his time, and of which he had himself been witness. They add, that he conjured his son Recaredus to prefer that example, which he left him at his death, to all those he had set him in his life-time, and that he assured him, that Spain would never be in a more flourishing condition, than when it should be wholly Catholick. However it be, it is sure that he recalled the banished bishops, and particularly St. Leander, to whom he expressed the extreme

(*q*) *Ibid.* de Script. Eccles. c. 28.(*r*) *Ibid.* in Chron. Suevor.(*s*) Petav.

Rat. Temp. cap. 11. Marian. l. 5. c. 13.

regret he was sensible of, (t) for embruing his hands in the blood of his son Ermenegildus; that he much commended the holy prelate for making him a Catholick, and begged him to continue his holy Instructions, till he had procured the same blessing for his son Recaredus, whom he left the only heir to his empire. (u) For soon after the death of Ermenegildus, Indgonda being carried into Africa by the Greeks, died there before she could set out for Constantinople; and it is very probable that the young prince she had by him, died with her, since no more mention is made of him. I own I can scarce believe that so clear sighted and penetrating a prince as Leuvigildus, should not be apprehensive lest his successor, whom he was desirous should become Catholick, should be molested by the Visigoths, and that at his death he himself should, out of policy, be afraid of declaring his renuntiation of Arianism. (x) Certainly, Gregory of Tours, who lived at that time, says that some asserted, that having declared himself a Catholick, he passed the last seven days of his life in sighs and tears, detesting his heresy, and all the crimes it had put him upon committing, and conjuring his subjects to leave Arianism: (y) Tho' the other Gregory pope, who also was living at the same time, says, that being convinced of the truth, he dared not venture to follow it, for fear of his subjects. But it is for God alone, whose judgments are secret and unfathomable; to judge how it was: it is enough for me to give an account of things, as those who have written of them, relate them.

After Leuvigildus's death, Recaredus, who was already a Catholick in his heart, was without opposition acknowledged Monarch of all Spain, except a few places which the Greeks still held. (z) As this young prince was admirably well made, very discreet, of a soft and modest temper, obliging, civil, courteous, and very adroit, besides being brave and generous; He soon gained the minds and hearts of the chief Visigoth lords, of the soldiers, and the people, and acted with so much address, and success, that, in the first year of his reign, he disposed them, without violence or constraint, to receive the Catholick religion, after his example, at the time he

(t) Greg. Mag. Dial. l. 3. c. 31.

(u) Greg. Tur. l. 8. c. 28.

(x) Greg.

Tur. l. 8. c. 45.

(y) Greg. Mag. l. 3. Dial. c. 31.

(z) Marian. l. 5. c.

13. Jo. Biclar.

A. D. 585. should think proper to declare himself. (a) Being secure from that quarter, he called together all the Arian bishops that were at his court, and told them, that at length to put an end to that dreadful scandal, which a difference in religion had so long propagated amongst his subjects, they ought of necessity to have a conference with the Catholick bishops, and that which ever of the two parties should be found weakest in proofs, it would unite with the other. And as in the conference all manner of advantage appeared evidently on the Catholick side, the king, who was pleased to be present, added, that beside the convincing which it received from reason, it had likewise that of the miracles, which he himself had seen, and of which the Arians had never wrought one, witness that unhappy person, whom in the time of the late king they had blinded, by an attempt to work a miracle, and could not afterwards restore to his sight. To which not one daring to reply, because the truth of this fact known to all the world was too plain, the king boldly declared himself a Catholick, and resolved publicly to receive the unction of the Holy Chrism in the name of the adorable Trinity. The Visigoths, and the Suevi, moved by so shining an example, afterwards very joyfully did the same, (b) thro' all Spain, and the Gothick Gaul, who sent advice of his conversion, inviting the Goths his subjects to renounce Arianism, as he had done.

But it was impossible for so great a change to be made, without great obstacles, over which GOD, by a powerful protection, made this prince triumph with all manner of success and Glory. Bildigernus and Granista, two Counts, or governors of the strong places in the Narbonese Gaul, (c) being set on by Athalocus, an Arian Bishop, so furiously wedded to his heresy, that he was generally called Arius, took up arms in defence of the Gothick religion. But GOD soon calmed that insurrection by a blow of his justice, and by the success wherewith he blessed the king's arms. Athalocus, seeing that the more he preached for Arianism, the more he grew detested by the people, who deserted him, loading him with curses, and that every one was for the king, and ready to follow his

(a) Greg. Tur. l. 9.

(b) Lower Languedoc, and a small part of the upper.

(c) Greg. Tur. Marian.

example, conceived so much grief and indignation at it, that, retiring into his chamber, and going to throw himself upon the bed, he fell down dead: And the two Counts, being routed, and taken by the king's lieutenants, by an ignominious punishment, suffered the pains justly due for their rebellion, and the cruelties they had inhumanly exercised upon the Catholicks. (d) Thus Septimania, that was still partly under the dominion of the Visigoths, being brought over to the Catholick faith, each of the Gauls was at last entirely freed from Arianism.

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There were some insurrections in Spain too, (e) excited by the rage of some Arians, who could not bear this alteration. Maufona, being restored to his Archbishoprick of Merida, of which he had been dispossessed by Leuvigildus; Sunna, an Arian Bishop, whom that Prince had put into it, conspired with some other Malecontents to kill him, and with him Duke Claudius, Governour of Lusitania, a strenuous defender of the Catholick faith. But the conspiracy being discovered by him who was to have been chief in the execution of so infamous a treason, the principal authors and the accomplices of this conspiracy were severley punished; and Sunna, who had his choice either of turning or suffering banishment, chose rather to be sent into Africa, than to renounce Arianism.

The conspiracy formed by Queen Gofuinda, was much more dreadful and dangerous. This detestable Arian, to keep her footing at Court, at first had pretended to embrace the Catholick faith (f) at the same time the King had declared himself, and prophaning the holy mysteries by a horrible sacrilege privately spit out the Holy Water, which she pretended to receive with respect at the communion. Uldila, an Arian bishop, her confidant, did the same thing too: and as they found it impossible long to carry on the feint without a discovery at last, and that there was no way of restoring Arianism, but by some desperate attempt, they came to the execrable resolution of taking the king off, either by the sword, or poison. But God, who took a particular care of the preservation of this prince, whose only thoughts were employed on making him to reign in his kingdom, laid open the conspiracy, which was too mildly punished in that false bishop, by banishment, and which

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(d) Languedoc.

(e) Joan. Biclár. Marian.

(f) Joan. Biclár. in Chron.

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GOD himself resolved to punish with greater severity in the miserable Gofuinda, whom he took out of the world at the same time, by a dreadful death, which put an end to the many horrid crimes, she had been guilty of in the advancement of Arianism.

In the mean while Recaredus, (g) who stood in need of peace, for the happy accomplishment of his work, pressing asked it of the kings of France, who had great reason to be exasperated at Indegonda's ill treatment, and Ermenegildus's death. He sent Ambassadors to assure them, that far from having any share in so unjust and barbarous an action, he was even at that time sensibly mortify'd at it; and to inform them that the authors of the crime having died miserably, they could not with any colour of justice revenge it on him, who condemned, and abhorred it more than all the world. Childebert, who was the most nearly concerned in revenging it, as brother to Indegonda, was easy with his satisfaction, and some years after, even entered into an alliance with Recaredus, who after the death of Bada his first wife, married Clodofinda, that king's sister. But Gontran, whose temper was more sowered by the loss of two powerful armies which he had sent into Septimania, (b) a little before Leuvigildus's death, (i) sent a third under the command of Boson, which was not more successful than the others, having been defeated before Carcassone by Claudius, king Recaredus's lieutenant. Thus this prince being perfectly settled, and in a profound peace, without having occasion to fear any thing either from abroad or at home, resolved to put the last hand to the grand affair, the conversion of the Visigoths and Suevi, in the famous third council of Toledo, which he had held in his presence, the fourth year of his reign.

There came to it about seventy bishops from the several parts of Spain, and the Narbonese Gaul, (k) under five archbishops; Mausona of Merida, Metropolitan of the province of Lusitania, with four Suffragans; Euphemius of Toledo, Metropolitan of the province of Carthage, with fifteen bishops his Suffragans; Leander of Seville, Metropolitan of the province of Betica, or Andalusia,

(g) Greg. Tur. l. 9. c. 1.
77. Jo. Biclár. Isidor. Chron. Marian.
Tom. 5. Conc. Edit. Paris.

(b) Languedoc.

(i) Aimoin. l. 3. c.

(k) Isid. in Chron. Luc. Tud. Marian.

with nine bishops; Pautardus of Brague, Metropolitan of the province of Galicia, with twelve bishops; and Migotius of Narbonne, Metropolitan of the Gothick Gaul, or Septimania, whose Suffragans, who were present at this council, were Sedatus of Beziers, Sergius of Carcassonne, John bishop of Elne, Agridius of Adge, Agripinus of Lodove, Stephen of Colioure, Genedius Archdeacon for Beotius bishop of Maguelone, and Valerianus vicar-general for Beladius bishop of Nismes. The Metropolitan of the province of Taracona did not appear, either in person, or by proxy, because possibly the see was vacant, but sixteen Suffragans of that province were present. Eight bishops newly converted from Arianism to the Catholick faith, the first of which were those of Barcelona and Valencia, took their places there. The king (accompanied by the queen, and all the greatest Visigoth and Suevian lords) was present at it, robed in purple, with the scepter in his hand, and diadem on his head, (l) all which Leuvigildus's father had worn, the first of the Visigoth kings, and their predecessors, not having as yet distinguished themselves by those marks of royalty; and every place was full of an infinite number, of the clergy and laity, who were to have a share in so august a ceremony, by their solemn abjuration.

The first session was held in the beginning of May, in this year five hundred eighty nine, which falls in with the *Æra* six hundred twenty seven marked in the council, (m) conformable to all the other held under king Recaredus, which exactly observe the same Chronology, which I think ought not to be laid aside, as some would, for testimonies less valid. (n) This session St. Leander opened with a fine discourse which we have in the same council, and wherein he shews the extraordinary pleasure we should feel at the conversion of so illustrious and powerful a nation, which brought as much ornament and glory to the church, by throwing themselves into her arms, as it had given her sorrow and affliction by persecuting her. After the discourse, the king, who acted in conjunction with St. Leander, said in a composed manner these

(l) Marian.

(m) Isidor. in Chron. Sirmond. t. 1. ad concil. Narbon.

(n) Potav. de Doct. temp. concil. t. 5. Ed. Paris. Baron. ad an. 391. n. 37. Spond. ibid. n. 12.

A. D. 589. few words to the fathers in the council, "That since God had
 "favoured him so far as to restore liberty to the church, which
 "the Arian heresy had deprived her of, and to meet together to
 "settle things necessary for the preservation of the faith and dis-
 "cipline, he had called them together, that they might, in his
 "presence, take proper measures against the abuses which had crept
 "into both of them thro' the unhappiness of the times. But as
 "the perfecting that work depended upon the divine grace and
 "favour, that he desired, that, before they engaged therein, they
 "would implore its assistance by fasting, watching, and prayer,
 "to the end that it might please God to discover unto them, what
 "they were to re-establish, to repair the losses of the church."

Hereupon the fathers, after great acclamations in thanks to
 God for having inspired their king with so much piety and wis-
 dom, ordered a fast for three days. After which, as soon as they
 were entered the council on the eighth of May, the king, having
 begged God's assistance by a fervent prayer he offered up with all
 his bishops, told them, at the same time giving into their hands
 a writing, "That as Spain had been so long infected with the
 "Arian heresy, care ought to be taken, above all things, that no-
 "thing that was not very pure and orthodox should make a part
 "of the faith, which she embraced as well as himself. That he
 "had therefore given them his belief in that memorial, which he
 "would have read publickly, to the end that if the council ap-
 "proved it, there might be no other faith over all his dominions
 "than that, which would signalize the glory of his reign through-
 "out the world." Upon which the bishops having ordered that
 paper to be read, the secretary of the council read it with an un-
 parallel'd attention of every body present. This confession of faith,
 still to be seen to this day in the acts of the council, contains a
 sincere protestation which this prince made of his acknowledging
 the obligation he was under, as king, to procure the eternal wel-
 fare of his subjects, by the knowledge of the true faith, which he
 lays down, with admirable exactness, on the mystery of the most
 holy Trinity. He says, "That the illustrious nation of the Goths,
 "so celebrated all over the world, and that of the Suevi, who now
 "make but one people, under the same king, after remaining so
 "long in the darkness of error, and separated from the Catholick
 "church,

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“ church, now hold the same faith with him, to which GOD had
“ been so gracious as to recall them. That he offers them as a sacri-
“ fice to GOD with a sincere heart and affection, by the hands of
“ the council to whom it belongs to instruct them in the truths
“ they ought to believe, not doubting in the least but JESUS
“ CHRIST, according to his promise, would be present in the
“ midst of this holy assembly, to conduct it by his holy spirit,
“ and that it is for this reason that he gives them this publick ac-
“ count of his belief.” After this he anathematizes Arius, together
with all his doctrines and partizans, and all the conventicles set
up against the holy council of Nice, which he embraces, as those
of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Calcedon; he afterwards adds the
Creeds of the two former, and the abridgment of the Tenets of
the two latter, and at the bottom his name, and that of queen Bada,
protesting that That was the faith they really hold in their hearts,
confess with their mouths, and which they have signed with their
own hands.

The reading that paper was no sooner over, than all the council,
as by a sudden impulse of the Holy Ghost, cried out with one
voice, “ Glory be to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one only
“ GOD, who procures peace and unity to his church ; Glory be to
“ JESUS CHRIST our Lord, who by his precious blood has form-
“ ed the Catholick church out of all nations, and brought back so
“ illustrious a people to the unity of the faith, to make but one
“ fold under one shepherd. To whom will GOD give an immortal
“ crown, if not to king Recaredus truly Catholick ? ” After these
exclamations, one of the Catholick bishops, by authority of the
council and the king’s desire, asked the bishops and all the rest of
the new converts, what they condemned, and what they confessed,
telling them it was proper for them to make a confession of it,
that their conversion might appear sincere. Whereupon they pre-
sented a paper wherein in twenty three articles they condemned
by as many curses all those who should maintain any of the doc-
trines of Arianism, and the book made to instruct those who were
perverted to it in them, and likewise the pretended council of Ri-
mini: They to this subjoined a confession of faith exactly con-
formable to that of the king. And that writing was signed by
the bishops, priests, and deacons, and principal officers and magi-
strates.

A. D. 589. *strates* of the Goths and Suevi, who had been converted from Arianism, to the Catholick faith.

This being performed to the wonderful satisfaction of Recaredus, it was his pleasure that the fathers should apply themselves to the regulation of discipline and manners, which they did in three and twenty canons, of which the second which the king himself had proposed to the council, orders that in all the Spanish churches, and in those of Galicia, during the sacrifice of the mass, before the Lord's Prayer be said, and the communion given, the people, according to the usage of the Eastern churches, should with a loud voice sing the symbol of Constantinople, that they might publickly declare the faith they held, and that having purified their heart by faith, they should receive the precious body and blood of JESUS CHRIST. And by the fifth, it is decreed, that the deacons, priests, and bishops, who, since their conversion from Arianism to the Catholick faith, still kept their wives, should be separated from them, and no more cohabit together: Which shews that the Arian bishops and priests were for marriage, as the Lutherans still are, and that heresy seldom can put up with continence.

Things being brought to so happy a conclusion, the king subscribed to the council first, setting, before his own name, That of *Flavius*, which he took the first of any of the Gothick kings, and which those of Lombardy also assumed almost at the same time, in order to acquire more respect, by the majesty of a name, which the Roman Emperors, and especially the family of the great Constantine, had formerly made so famous. The Metropolitans subscribed after the king, and then all the bishops, according to the order of time; and as there were churches, as those of Tudes and Lugo, in which king Leuvigildus, having turned out the Catholick bishops, had placed Arians, they thought fit to preserve to them, who had been converted, the title and dignity of bishops, (o) and the right of being present at the council, notwithstanding that the Catholick bishops were restored to their sees, which is the reason, that in the names subscribed to the council, there are found two bishops to the same church. Recaredus then published an edict, whereby he orders all his subjects of the Clergy and Laity, under

(o) *Garfias. Louisa.*

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great pains, inviolably to observe the decrees of the holy council, and to conclude the solemnity of so glorious a festival, having made strict search for all Arian books, he had a great fire made of them, (p) in the great square of Toledo, to the glory of the Son of God, triumphing over Arianism.

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As St. Gregory the Great was shortly after elected pope, St. Leander his intimate friend did not fail writing to him, to give him an account of the glorious actions of Recaredus, and of the hearty conversion of the Visigoths. (q) The holy Pontif in his answer expresses the extreme joy he felt, and conjures him to apply himself with extraordinary care, to induce the king to bring to perfection a work so conducive to the glory of God, by a piety of life agreeable to his faith. And being consulted upon the manner of conferring baptism, some being for dipping him that was baptized three times in the Font; others but once; he answers, that tho' either way might be used, to shew either the unity of Essence, or the Trinity of the persons, according to the difference of customs, which do not hinder the unity of faith; however, because the Arians dipped three times, thereby to express that they acknowledged three natures in the Trinity, that it was better for the future to be satisfied with one single immersion, in order to stand at the greatest distance possible from those hereticks, who might draw an advantage from following their custom.

590.

591.

Soon after king Recaredus sent ambassadors to Rome with magnificent presents, to acknowledge St. Gregory in quality of sovereign Pontif and vicar of JESUS CHRIST upon earth. This embassy was unsuccessful at first; the ambassadors were very near being lost at sea, and having run thro' great dangers, were at last thrown by a tempest upon the coasts of Spain, from whence they did not depart till long after. However at last they arrived, and presented the king's presents to the apostle St. Peter, and to the pope, amongst which were golden vases for the use of the Basilica of the holy apostle, three hundred suits of cloths for the poor who were maintained out of the revenues of the church. (r) St. Gregory answered this liberality, by very instructive and af-

(p) Aimoin. l. 3. c. 77.
Ibid. 2.

(q) Greg. l. 1. Epist. 41.

(r) Greg. l. 7. Epist. 126.

A.D. 599. fectionate letters, and little presents to excite devotion, worthy of such a Pope, and such a king, to whom he sent a cross of gold, with part of that of the Saviour of the world, and some hairs of St. John Baptist, to the end (as he writes) that he might at all times from thence draw the assistance and comfort he ought to hope from JESUS CHRIST, by the intercession of his Blessed Forerunner. He added, according to his custom, two golden keys, sanctified by touching the tomb and body of St. Peter, one of which had enclosed in it a small piece of the iron of his chains. Thus the renunciation of heresy in the sixth century, soon introduced those holy customs which we now-a-days follow in the Catholick church, as adoring the cross, reverencing the relicks of Saints, imploring their intercession, and paying obedience to the Pope, as head of the universal church. It is what Recaredus, the first Catholick king of Spain, practised, who after his conversion perpetually applied himself to make JESUS CHRIST reign throughout all Spain, (s) with more glory and success than any of his predecessors had done, which at last made him conclude a most glorious life by a most pious death, at Toledo, in the sixteenth year of his reign.

He was a Prince, who had nothing in an ordinary degree, but all the shining qualities to be desired in a king, whether for peace or war. He was well made, graceful, of a strong complexion, ready, active, vigilant, wise, brave, always successful, always victorious in battle, both within and without his kingdom, against the Greeks, and Biscayans his rebels, whom he subdued, making peace to flourish throughout his whole dominions. And by a wonderful alliance, which he had the art of making between the civil and military virtues, he was the man in the world who had the greatest goodness, and sweetness of temper, in his eyes, in his speech, in his manner of treating even the meanest of his subjects, by whom he was incredibly beloved; to conclude, always liberal, always magnificent, without making any advantage of the immense treasures his father had heap'd up, and which, soon after his death, he caus'd to be distributed amongst the churches, and private persons, who he thought had suffered any way in their estates, during the persecution; tender to his people, whom he eased of a great part of the taxes they owed

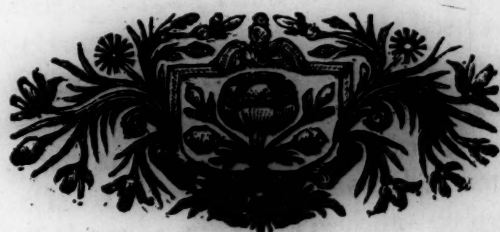
(s) Isidor.

him

him; compassionate towards the poor, on whom he lavished what remained to him over and above his expences which were very regular, being used to say, that he was a king only to do good to his subjects. In short, his uncle St. Leander gave so fine a character of him in a letter to pope Gregory, (t) that That great man answered him, that he was charmed with the picture, and that he must needs heartily love so amiable a prince, without having known him any otherwise, than by this idea, which Leander, who must have been a judge of mankind, had given him of him. But after all, amidst so many perfections, there is none that comes up to the extraordinary zeal he had for the Catholick faith, and the conversion of his people; (u) and it may be said, that if St. Ermenegildus was the seed, which, falling upon the earth, and dying by his Martyrdom, bore fruit much beyond an hundred fold; his brother Recaredus was the labourer, who carefully cultivated the ground, to make it shoot forth and ripen, to gather the harvest, and bring it into the church, as into the repository of God the father of the Gospel family; so that after the third council of Toledo he may be called by a more glorious name than that of king, the apostle of the Suevi and the Goths, whom he so thoroughly converted, that Arianism after that time never had any footing in Spain. But it was not so in Italy, which having been freed from the dominion of the Arians, fell into a more cruel captivity than the former, as I shall now shew, deducing the matter from its original.

(t) Greg. mag. l. 1. c. 41.

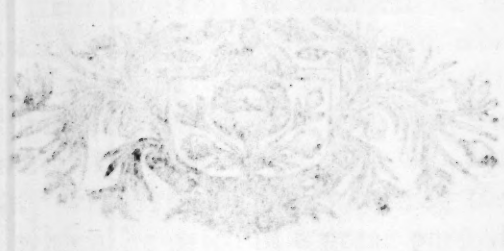
(u) Greg. mag. 3. Dial. c. 31.

The End of the XIth B O O K

The first of these is the fact that the book is written in a very simple and direct style, which is very unusual for a book of this kind. The second is the fact that the book is written in a very simple and direct style, which is very unusual for a book of this kind. The third is the fact that the book is written in a very simple and direct style, which is very unusual for a book of this kind.

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The End of the XIth Box





T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A R I A N I S M.

B O O K XII.

THE people of Italy not having as yet received the full punishment of their sins under the tyranny of the Ostrogoths and Eruli, were fifteen years after subdued to the power of other Arians, who proved more inhuman to them than the first, through the revenge and fury of the very man who had just delivered them out of their bonds. Narfes, after having expelled the Goths, and reduced all Italy to the obedience of the Emperor, was made governor of that country, which he justly deserved as a reward for so many victories: But having an insatiable thirst after riches, he drained the Romans of their money, which induced them to make grievous complaints to the Emperor

R 1 2

Justinus,

A. D.
567.

A. D. 567. who had succeeded Justinian, (*a*) and by the means of the Empress Sophia, who was an enemy to Narses, prevailed on the Emperor to take the government from him, and send Longinus in his place. It is even reported that the Empress, as a designed affront, sent him word that it was time for him to come back to Constantinople, in order to pass the remainder of his days in the palace, where he should be employed in spinning amongst the women in their apartment, as it well became his condition; and that Narses, who was highly provoked at this insulting message, sent her back this answer, that he would soon spin a cloth for her, which neither her husband nor she should ever be able to rend. Hereupon he retired to Naples, and sent to Alboinus king of the Lombards, then in Pannonia, pressing him instantly to undertake the conquest of Italy, which, he represented to him, might be easily compleated, in the condition it was then in, without any army to oppose his forces.

These people about forty years before had passed the Danube with other nations, (*b*) and entered Pannonia, where the Romans assigned them lands, and even gave them troops to defend them against the Gepidi, whom they defeated in several engagements. The Lombards likewise assisted the Romans against the Goths, and Narses brought with him about seven or eight thousand of them into Italy, who fought for him against Totila. But as they made dreadful devastations, and committed most horrible Sacrileges where-ever they passed, he found means, under the pretence of the war's being at an end, to send them back well satisfied, after having generously distributed large sums of money to them, over and above their pay. Of all the people that were come out of the North, the Lombards were the most fierce, after the Huns, with whom they had contracted an intimate friendship: and as to their religion, tho' there were a great number of Pagans amongst them, who worshipped the head of a goat, they nevertheless were for the most part Arians, and had their churches, and bishops, and were baptised after the Arian manner. (*c*) They were governed at

(*a*) Paul. Var. l. 2. de Gest. Longob. c. 5. Anast. Bibl. in Joan. 3. (*b*) Paul. Var. nef. de Gest. Longob. l. 2. c. 7. Procop. de bell. Got. l. 3. Procop. de bell. Got. l. 4. (*c*) Greg. Dial. l. 3. c. 28.

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567.

this time by Alboinus, the most powerful king amongst them, who had rendered himself famous for his eminent qualifications, and the victories which he had gained, chiefly over the Gepidi, whose whole nation he almost destroyed, (d) after having killed their king Cunimondus in battle, and taken his daughter Rosimond prisoner, whom he married after the death of Clodofuinda, his first wife, who was daughter to Clotaire, king of France,

This French princess was a lady of great virtue; and we have to this day the fine Elogium which Nicetus, bishop of Treves, made of her in the excellent letter that he wrote to her, wherein he exhorts her, (e) in a most zealous manner, to use her utmost endeavours towards the conversion of her husband, who was at that time in Pannonia. It plainly appears by that Epistle that this Prince was then an Arian: For this bishop, speaking to the queen, saith, "That he cannot conceive how it is possible that a King so renowned in the world and so highly respected by all the other Princes, and even by the Emperour, for his extraordinary virtues, should suffer himself to be thus wretchedly seduced by those who part the son of GOD from his Father, and would have us to worship two GODS, the one supreme, and the other subordinate. And therefore he conjured her in the most pressing terms, to give all imaginable attention to his letter, and to read it often to the King, in order that he might find therein the conviction of his error by those express passages of scripture which plainly prove the unity of essence of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. To this he added the undeniable testimony of so many miracles that were daily wrought in the presence even of those very Lombards, who were sent by Alboinus to the sepulchres of St. Martin, St. Germain, St. Hilary and St. Remigius, those glorious defenders of the Trinity of the three persons in the unity of their essence, against the impiety of the Arians; then he concludes his letter, with the example of the great Clovis, who embraced the Catholick faith, by the persuasion of Clotilda, great grandmother to the queen. And as this prince was a person of sublime wit and learning he did not recant till he was first perfectly convinced of the truth, which he had no sooner confessed

(d) Paul. Varn. de Gest. Longob. l. 1. c. 27. (e) Serm. 2. 1. Conc. Gall. tom. 5. Conc. Edit. Paris.

but

A. D. 567. but he gained several glorious victories over Alaricus, and Gondeband, who were both Arian kings. This letter having made a deep impression on Clodofuinda, who by inheritance from Clotilda professed an extraordinary zeal for her religion, used her utmost endeavours to convert the king to the Catholick religion; but as she happened soon after to die, and that the Princess Rosimond, who assumed her place, was an Arian, and far inferior both in merit and virtue to the deceased queen, Alboinus continued in his error, without being bigotted to his opinion; because his thoughts being chiefly employed in gratifying his ambition, he was not at all solicitous about enquiring into the true religion.

This was the king to whom Narses in his anger applied, in order to be revenged of the Emperor Justinus, and the Empress Sophia, by reducing Italy to the wretched condition, from which he had just delivered it. (f) I am sensible that some persons, to clear this great man of so culpable an action, have endeavoured to make this history pass for a fiction upon what is written by Corippus, an African poet of those days, in a poem which he made in praise of Justinus, wherein he says, that in the first year of his empire, Narses was at Constantinople; and that he held one of the highest ranks in the Emperor's court when he gave audience to the Ambassadors of the Avari, who were a particular people amongst the Huns, so called after their king whose name was Avarus. (g) But these authors have not observed that there were two or three of the Narses very different from each other, as it is mentioned by Procop; and that this Narses, whom Corrippus speaks of, being a young Querry, as he describes him, (h) of a noble shape and mien, richly clothed, and having a fine head of hair, could not be that same Narses, who was so great a general: for this was an old Eunuch, whose face was at this time full of wrinkles.

Therefore, as I have no room to confute, as to this particular, the author of the history of the Lombardi, tho' he only wrote since the time of Charlemagne, I shall refer to what he says, it being very common to see the greatest men give themselves up to the most abominable extravagancies, out of revenge, which is cer-

(f) Baron. ad ann. 567. n. 11.

(g) Vid. Petav. Ration. p. 1. l. 7. c. 10.

(h) Comptus Cæsarie, formaque insignis & ore Aureus omnis erat.

tainly a passion they are very subject to, and which they ought to be the more aware of. It is true that they sometimes do reclaim : *A.D.* 567. But that often happens after the evil is over, and when it is too late to be retrieved. This was the case with the unfortunate Narses ; for John the third, bishop of Rome, (i) fearing the fatal consequences of his resentment, went himself to him at Naples, and used such powerful arguments with him, that he prevailed on him to return to Rome. But the fatal blow was already given in Italy, and Narses died soon after, perhaps with grief to see himself no longer able to remedy those evils which he had promoted. For Alboinus, who was a prince of great valour, but yet of greater ambition, readily received Narses's proposals, and, far from giving him time to repent of his conduct, he immediately departed out of those lands which he possessed in Pannonia, leaving them in the hands of his good friends the Huns ; and marched through the Julian Alps, into Italy with a most formidable army, composed not only of the Lombards, but also of an infinite number of other Barbarians whom he adopted, (k) and chiefly twenty thousand Saxons, who joined him with their wives and children, in order to become inhabitants of Italy with the Lombards, after the conquest of that country which was to be divided amongst them.

As the Roman garrisons were at that time very weak, (l) and there was no army in the field to oppose this furious inundation of Barbarians, Alboinus first invaded the Triouli, and Istria, with the whole country of the Venetians, as far as Mantua, where the Lombards began to commit those dreadful desolations which, like those of Jerusalem, were foretold, (as we are informed) (m) by flying armies which were seen fighting in the air ; and which St. Gregory the great does so often bewail in his epistles. Nevertheless Alboinus, who was not so inhuman as his people, endeavoured in some manner to moderate their cruel inclinations, in order to acquire the reputation of a merciful and generous prince, and by that means insinuate himself into the minds of the Italians. For Felix, bishop of Trevisa, being come to meet him on the borders of the river Plavis, (n) humbly to beseech him that he would not

(i) Anast. Biblioth. in Joan. 3.

(k) Paul. Varn. l. 2. c. 6.

(l) Id. lib. 6.

cap. 9. (m) Greg. Homil. I. in Evang. l. 4. Epist. 34. lib. 11. Epist. 43. (n) Piavo.

destroy

A. D. 568. destroy the lands belonging to his church, he readily granted him his request, (o) and immediately ordered his secretary to draw up such a writing as might serve him for a protection. After this Alboinus took Vicenza and Verona; then marching along the borders of the Po, (p) into the plains of the Insubrians, and Ligurians, he entered into Milan, and made himself master of all the other towns, excepting those which lay on the sea side; after which he laid siege before Pavia, which was the strongest of them all, and the only place that ventured to oppose his conquest. But least it should prevent his forces from being successful in other parts, he only left part of his army there, which kept it blocked up during the space of three years; and in the mean while with the rest, he conquered the greatest part of Italy, which, being exhausted by the former wars, and destroyed by the Plague and Famine that had almost unpeopled it, was not able to make any resistance. (q) So that, excepting Rome, Ravenna, and a few forts situated on the sea shore, which remained as yet in the hands of the Grecians, all were forced to yield and submit themselves to the power of the Lombards. After which Alboinus returned victorious to the siege of Pavia, which was at last delivered up to him.

It is reported that, as he was entering that city, after having made a cruel vow that he would put all the inhabitants to the sword for having resisted so long, his horse fell under him, and that all his endeavours could not make him rise again, till a nobleman, who was a Lombard and a Catholick, having represented to him in most humble terms, how unjust it would be to destroy a brave nation, who professed the true Christian religion, he immediately revoked his vow, and afterwards, being entered the town, and come to the noble Palace of Theodoricus, he there, with all the humanity imaginable, received the people who came to acknowledge him for their master. Thus the Grecian Emperours were for ever deprived of their Italian dominions, which were all subdued by the Lombards, excepting only a few towns that were governed by Prefects, who were sent thither from Constantinople, and who from that time were called *Exargui*, or lieutenants of Ra-

(o) Paul, *ibid.* c. 9. (p) The Milanese and Piemont. (q) Paul. Varn. l. 2. c. 26.
venna;

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venna; who, not being powerful enough to drive out their enemies, were so covetous and inhuman, that their own people suffered more hardships under them, than from the government of the Lombards. But Alboinus did not long enjoy the fruits of his victories, for being one day overcome by wine in an entertainment, he barbarously ordered some to be given to queen Rosimond in a cup which was made out of the skull of king Cunimondus, Father to that Princess; who conceived so great an indignation and hatred to him, that she caused him to be murdered by one of her Querry's, whom she afterwards married, and retired with him to Ravenna, where she was received by the Exarch Longinus. And this lieutenant having solicited her to make away with her new husband, she one day attempted to poison him, which the latter perceiving, after he had swallowed part of the liquor, he forced her, with a dagger pointed at her breast, to drink what was left in the cup, and thus they punished each other for their most execrable crime.

A. D.

571.

572.

After the death of Alboinus, the Lombards chose Clephis for their king, as the most qualified person amongst them for that dignity. He was proclaimed at Pavia; but this Prince being murdered about eighteen months after, by one of his attendants, there was an interregnum that lasted ten years, during which time, thirty five of the chief noblemen, having divided the Provinces amongst them, and the towns which Alboinus had conquered, they by degrees subdued all Italy. But as they neither had the merit nor good nature of Alboinus, and were no longer kept in awe by his presence and authority, it proved that, instead of one Tyrant, who was in some manner tolerable, there were thirty five Tyrants, who exercised all kind of cruelties and sacrileges throughout Italy, plundering and burning the churches, murdering the priests, and destroying whole cities. They put all to fire and sword, and persecuted the Catholicks with so much fury, that St. Gregory, who was eye-witness to part of this inhuman persecution, compares it to that of the Nero's and the Diocletian's. It is true indeed that Rome, (r) (by the special protection of GOD, who was satisfied with the punishment it had undergone in the time of the

(r) Greg. l. 7. Ep. 23.

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S s

Goths)

A.D. 574. Goths) did not fall into the power of the Lombards; (s) and the bishops, by means of considerable sums of money, which from time to time they distributed amongst these Barbarians, purchased their freedom with that of the church and city. Yet this did not prevent them from carrying their fury to the very gates of Rome, where they committed most horrible devastations on the churches, and other burying-places that were consecrated to the memory of holy martyrs.

It was also at this very time that God, in order to soften the hearts of the Barbarians, and testify the truth of that religion which they so cruelly persecuted in those who professed it, wrought those mighty miracles which St. Gregory gives us an account of in his dialogues, as having been related to him by those who were eye-witnesses of them. He says, that at Spoleto an Arian bishop, (t) having attempted to seize by main force the church of St. Paul, whose doors had been shut against him; they suddenly opened of themselves, just as he was giving orders to his people to break them open; and that at the same time there appeared an extraordinary light as a flash of lightning from heaven, which lighted the lamps, and struck that impious man blind, whose punishment was so great a surprize to the Lombards, (tho' it neither opened their hearts, nor converted them) that they did not dare afterwards to molest the Catholicks in that city. It is also reported that, in the town of Nursia, a soldier having lifted up his arm in the presence of the Lombards, (u) in order to behead the holy priest Servulus, it became motionless, and he could not recover the use of it, till he had first taken an oath to this pious man that he never would kill any Catholick; which wonderful incident obliged the Lombards to deliver up to him all the captives they had made according to his request. (x) St. Gregory likewise says, that in the Abruzzo, a man who cut off the head of a Deacon, had no sooner done the act, but he fell at his feet, before all the people, and was more cruelly tormented by the evil spirits, to whom divine justice delivered him up, than he could have been by all the executioners in the universe: (y) Besides, there were two holy monks whom

(s) Greg. l. 3. Ep. 34.
(x) Id. l. 4. c. 23.

(t) Greg. l. 3. Dial. c. 29.
(y) Ibid. l. 4. c. 12.

(u) Id. l. 3. c. 37.

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these impious men, after having plundered their monastery, had hanged up to a tree, that were heard, by the Lombards, as also by all the prisoners who were then present, to sing psalms that very night in a plain and distinct voice, as they used to do in the Choir.

A. D.

574.

But tho' all these miracles caused an admiration in the Barbarians, and suspended for a time the fury of the Arians, who would not attempt any more to pervert the Catholicks, (x) nevertheless they did not inspire them with better sentiments. For during this cruel interregnum, as the dissolution of the Barbarians could not be suppressed by the supreme authority of a king, they continued more than ever their devastations throughout Italy, and spared neither churches nor monasteries, but often marched up to the very gates of Rome, and most perfidiously destroyed all the neighbouring country, contrary to the promise and oath which they had given to Pelagius the second, bishop of Rome, of whom they had received considerable sums of money, and who at that time was using fruitless endeavours, by the means of St. Gregory his legate, to obtain the assistance of the Emperor Tiberius. After having thus laid all Italy waste, they were even so bold as to pass the Alps, and march into Provence where they defeated the army of Amatus, (a) governor of the province for king Gontranus, and caused great desolations throughout the country, with no other design but that of returning into Italy loaded with plunder, which they accordingly did. But having afterwards attempted to do the same in Dauphine, they were defeated in three different battles, where a most horrible slaughter was made of them near Ambrun and Valence, by the famous general Mummolus, lieutenant to Gontranus; (b) And Amon, one of the dukes of the Lombards, who had marched along the sea-side up to the Rhone, being informed of this disaster, and finding himself overtaken by the snow, with great difficulty made his escape, with a small body of horse, leaving the remainder of his army, with their baggage and plunder to the discretion of the conqueror.

582.

But at last the disorders, which were occasioned amongst the Lombards by this Anarchy, the losses which they had suffered in

(x) Greg. lib. 3. cap. 28. (a) Pelag. l. 1. Ep. 5. Paul. Diac. lib. 3. c. 1. 3, 4, 5.
(b) Greg. Tur. l. 4. c. 29.

A. D. 582. France, and the fear they were in of being invaded by the French, (c) compelled them to put an end to this interregnum, which would have proved fatal to their empire. For the emperor Mauricius, who had succeeded Tiberius in the year five hundred and eighty two, being dissatisfied that the Lombards should keep Italy in their possession, and not having power enough to drive them out, prevailed on Childebert king of Austrasia to be concerned with him in this war, in consideration whereof he advanced him the sum of fifty thousand crowns in gold. The Lombards, who were afraid of being oppressed by so potent an enemy, if their forces should continue divided, as they were at that time, amongst so many little principalities, (d) assembled at Pavia, in order to re-establish a monarchy; and there, with the general consent of their nation, they placed Autharis on the throne, who was the son of Clephis their last king. This young Prince, who was then in the prime of his age, was very beautiful, and had a majestick air, which easily distinguished him from the rest of the Lombard Noblemen. He was by nature brave, enterprizing, and active, yet withal wise, and artful; and a man of sobriety and moderation, who, in short, had nothing of a Barbarian in him but the bare name, which he resolved to soften by adding to it that of Flavius, which his successors, likewise assumed after him, as the kings of the Visigoths had also done before in Spain. He soon made it appear, by his merit, that he was deserving of the choice they had made, and that his virtues would be the support of his dignity. For whereas all things, before his accession to the crown, were in a most dreadful confusion, under the dominion of those thirty five little arbitrary Tyrants, who practised a continued Series of injustice and extortion, he in a very short time restored all things to so good an order throughout all the whole dominions of the Lombards, (e) that his laws being punctually observed, and his authority respected, the people enjoyed a perfect tranquility, which they had been strangers to till then.

In the beginning of his reign he performed an act of piety more suitable to the character of a Catholick, than an Arian. A sol-

(c) Vide. Pot. Rat. Temp. l. 7. c. 9. contra Chron. l. Baron. Paul. Diac. l. 17.
 (d) Id. c. 16. (e) Paul. Varn. l. 3. c. 8. Aimoin, l. 3. c. 38.

dier of the Lombards, who was an Arian, having found one of those *A.D.*
 little golden keys, (*f*) which the bishops of Rome were used in 584.
 those days to distribute to some people who kept it, in honour of
 St. Peter, whose tomb they had touched, was going to cut it into
 pieces for some particular use, tho' he very well knew the veneration
 that was paid to it. But as he had taken out his knife in
 order to execute his sacrilegious design, he was suddenly possessed
 with an evil spirit, who stuck him into the throat with it. So that
 he fell dead on the spot with the key lying by him. There immediately
 came a vast number of spectators to see this strange accident,
 and the king himself being informed of it, was resolved to enquire
 into the cause; but finding the little key which was known to be
 of the kind, I mentioned, this unaccountable punishment struck so
 much terror into the minds of the Arians, that were present, that
 nobody dared to take it off the ground, lest the like judgment should
 befall them from the hand of God. But a Lombard, who was a
 good Catholick and a pious man, and whose name was Minulphus,
 being sent for, he took up this key with great respect, and presented
 it to the king, who caused another key to be made upon the same
 model, and sent them both in a solemn manner to Pelagius, bishop
 of Rome, with an account of this wonderful accident which occasioned
 these sort of keys to be held in great veneration afterwards.

This was the same miraculous key which St. Gregory the Great
 sent some time after to Theotistus, (*g*) and Andrew, two noblemen
 at Constantinople, who were men of eminent virtues, and governors
 to the young princes, the sons of the Emperor Mauricius, and
 had sent him (*b*) thirty pounds weight in gold for the redemption
 of captives. He thought he could not acknowledge their charity
 in a more meritorious manner, than by sending to them, as a present,
 this key, which having touched St. Peter's Tomb, and some of
 the filings of his Irons, that were contained in it, was become so
 precious. He likewise gives them a full account in his epistle, of
 the surprising punishment that befell the Arian soldier who was
 going to destroy it.

In the mean while, Childebert, having raised a powerful army
 sufficient to invade all Italy, passed the Alps without opposition, and

(*f*) Greg. magn. l. 6. Ep. 23. Id. l. 1. Ep. 25. 29 (*g*) Greg. Ibid. Ep. ad Theotist.
 (*b*) about three thousand four hundred Crowns.

marched

A.D. marched directly into the provinces of the Ligurians, and Insu-
 585. brians, (*i*) situated on the borders of the Po, then inhabited by the Lombards. But Autharis, who had not been able to muster up forces enough to resist so potent an enemy, found means by a political scheme to avoid the storm. For having sent all his troops into the fortified towns, with the provisions that were in the country, he immediately dispatched ambassadors to Childebert with magnificent presents, and a considerable sum of money, offering at the same time to pay tribute to him, and to serve him faithfully on all occasions. Childebert, who perceived that if he were obliged to attack every place, the one after the other, it would cause a tedious war, and he might run the hazard of losing the best part of his troops, by reason of the intemperance of the Climate and want of provisions, was satisfied with conditions that were advantageous to him; so marched away with the money which he had received of Autharis, who only wanted to divert the present danger. Some authors (*k*) have reported that Childebert left Italy only with a design to go into Spain, in order to revenge the death of Ermenegildus, which he did by the total defeat of the army of Leuvigildus. But Gregory of Tours, (*l*) who was the Historian of those days, and related those things which he was eye-witness to, positively affirms, that he indeed had a design to march with his army into Spain, but that he altered his mind, and and did not go thither. Sometime after, Childebert, finding that
 587. Autharis had only trifled with him, and being again urgently sol-
 588. licited by the Emperor to perform his promise, (*m*) he renewed the
 589. war against the Lombards, and entered Italy three times with but little success. For what with the divisions which arose between the French, and the Germans his subjects, and the sickness and famine that infected that country, he lost the greatest part of his men. Besides, he fought a famous battle against Autharis, wherein his whole army was almost cut to pieces; the time appointed for the destruction of the empire of the Lombards not being as yet at hand, according to the designs of God who reserved that conquest for the emperor Charlemain.

(*i*) Piemont and Lombardy. (*k*) Aimoin. l. 3. c. 28. Dupleix. (*l*) Greg. Tur. l. 6. c. 24. (*m*) Paul. Var. nef. lib. 3. c. 22. Greg. Turon. lib. 10. c. 3. Paul. c. 32. Greg. Tur. lib. 9. c. 25. Paul. lib. 3. cap. 30.

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A. D.
589.

In the mean time Autharis, who was proud of this extraordinary success, run over all Italy, and having taken Benevento, which was then in the possession of the Imperialists, (n) he appointed a lieutenant for the government of that place, then marched into the extremities of Calabria, where the whole country submitted to his government without the least resistance. He had proposed a peace with Childebert, upon condition that he should have his sister Clodofinda for a wife, which accordingly was promised him; (o) But Childebert receded from his word, in order to marry her to king Recaredus, (p) whose alliance was more honourable and advantageous, and after this refusal Autharis having gained the great victory already mentioned, which gave him so great reputation in the world, he himself went disguised into Bavaria, to make his addresses to the Princess Theodelinda, daughter to king Garibandus, whom he married. This proved an admirable instance of divine providence, who designed by the means of this Princess to extirpate Arianism from the kingdom of the Lombards, at the very time that Autharis, who was absolute master of his dominions, was endeavouring to establish it. For this prince, finding that many of the Lombards were daily converted to the Catholick Faith, through the care and diligence of the bishops of Italy, who made it their business to instruct them, and lay open the errors and blasphemies of Arianism, he published an edict, (q) sometime before Easter, whereby it was forbidden to all Lombards to baptise their children according to the form of the Catholick church, with strict orders that the form of the Arians should only be observed in baptism, by which means he proposed to maintain the whole nation of the Lombards in the heresy of their Ancestors. But God, who had resolved on the conversion of these people; soon set aside this obstacle which only proceeded from the impiety of Autharis, for he died in this same year at Pavia on the fifth of September, after having reigned six years. (r) Queen Theodelinda, who was a Princess of eminent virtues, and very religious in the Catholick faith, had rendered herself so agreeable to all the Lombard noble-

590.

(n) Paul. Varn. l. 9. c. 33. (o) Greg. Tur. l. 9. c. 25. (p) Paul. Varn. lib. 3. c. 29. & 31. Marian. l. 5. c. 13. (q) Greg. lib. 1. Epist. 17. (r) Paul. Diac. l. 3. cap. 35.

men,

A. D. men, by her wise conduct, that as the deceased king had left no
 590. children, they acknowledged her for their sovereign, and would admit of no other king, unless it were one of her chusing, who, by an alliance with her, might be intitled to the throne.

Whilst the queen was taking time to resolve on a choice of that importance, (s) she sent ambassadors to Childebert, to whom the late king her husband had likewise sent before his death proposals of a peace, (t) which she obtained more readily than he could have done, provided she would pay him a small yearly tribute, which was soon after redeemed. And in the mean while, having fixed her resolution, amongst all the Noblemen of the Lombards, she chose Agilulph, duke of Turine for her husband. He was a Prince of great valour and virtue, his person was beautiful and majestick, and the glorious actions which he had performed in the wars, as well as his extraction from royal blood, all these, I say, sufficiently intitled him to her choice. She married him at Pavia, in the month of November, and caused him to be crowned at Milan, where the whole nation was assembled, who received him with a general applause. This alliance gave a great deal of satisfaction to St. Gregory, who was promoted to the Pontificate in the same year. As he knew the merit and virtue of queen Theodelinda, he was convinced that she would approve of the endeavours he was then going to use, in order to retrieve the evil which had been occasioned by the edict of Autharis; he therefore wrote an excellent epistle to all the bishops of Italy, (u) wherein he exhorts them to use their utmost power, in order to convert the Lombards, who were in their dioceses, to the Catholick faith, and to endeavour diligently to reconcile those to the church, who at the last solemnity of Easter, had been baptized after the Arian manner, according to the edict of the late king. This holy bishop was of opinion, that so religious a queen, to whom the king her husband was indebted for the crown, would take proper measures to prevent him from following the sentiments of his predecessor, and maintaining his ordinances against the Catholicks. And indeed he was not mistaken in his notion, for Theodelinda on her

(s) Ibid.
 Magn. l. 1. Ep. 17.

(t) Aimoin. l. 4. cap. 7. Paul. lib. 3. cap. 33.

(u) Greg.

part performed much more than St. Gregory could have expected, *A. D.*
 She knew so well how to make use of the power she had over the 590,
 king her husband, that, after having instructed him in the my-
 steries of the Catholick faith, she perswaded him to make a publick
 confession of it, in spite of that weak and fatal policy which often
 hinders princes, (x) out of an abject fear of their subjects, from
 adhering openly to that truth, which they had secretly acknow-
 ledged. So that we may say that if the devil introduced the
 Arian heresy into the East by the means of three women, (y) GOD,
 in order to overthrow his works and fight him with his own arms,
 was resolved to employ the talents of three illustrious princesses,
 Clotilda, Indegonda, and Theodelinda, in order to sanctify the West,
 by the conversion of the French, and root out Arianism from
 Spain and Italy, by the conversion of the Visigoths and Lombards.
 For indeed the example of Agilulph, who followed the counsels of
 Theodelinda proved effectual; the greatest part of the nobility
 amongst the Lombards, both Pagans, and Arians, embraced the
 Catholick faith as he had done, and were soon followed by the
 people who generally imitate their superiors. This produced a
 great change in the kingdom, (z) the bishops, who had been re-
 duced to a most ignominious poverty, were restored to their former
 dignities, and to their estates which had been taken from them.
 The churches also, which had been profaned, were now re-estab-
 lished; the queen built new ones, and the king bestowed large
 sums of money to every city for the repairs of those churches which
 had suffered great damages. And in order to render the joy of the
 Catholicks more compleat for this triumph of JESUS CHRIST, as
 St. Gregory about the same time proposed to reconsecrate the church
 of St. Agatha at Rome, which had been profaned by the Arians in
 the time of the Goths, GOD was pleased to concur with him in
 this solemnity by some extraordinary works, which this holy bi-
 shop gives us an account of, as being eye-witness to them. (a) For
 having reconciled this church in the presence of a multitude of
 people who were come from all parts to this feast, as he was cele-
 brating the divine mysteries, one of those unclean animals, into

(x) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 6. (y) Constantia. Eusebia. Dominica.. (z) Paul.
 Varn. ibid, (a) Gregor. Mag. Dial. l. 3. cap. 30.

- A. D. 591. whose bodies the devils besought CHRIST that he would suffer them to enter, was known to be in the church, being heard by the assembly, and felt running between their legs, tho' they could not see it. On the two following nights there was a strange noise heard over the roof of the church, which ended as it were with a mighty clap of thunder, which, for the time it lasted, caused a great consternation; after that there never was any thing of this kind heard. Another time at mid-day, it being fine and serene weather, a cloud came and surrounded the altar, and the whole church was filled with a most agreeable perfume, which was smelt by the people who repaired thither from all parts, tho' no body dared to enter the church. Some time after, the lamps of the church being put out, they were lighted again suddenly by a celestial light; and in order to verify this miracle, the same thing was repeated three times, tho' all the care imaginable was observed in the putting out of the lamps. GOD undoubtedly was resolved, by these wonderful signs, to shew that the devil, who had for a long time been in possession of that church, was compelled to depart from it, and that the light of the true faith had taken place of the errors and darkness of Arianism. After all, when I consider this history with deliberation, I must sincerely confess, that I have not strength, or, as I may say, boldness enough in my mind to deny, or even to suppress those things which a person of St. Gregory's merit and dignity says that he has seen, and has transmitted to us in writing in his book of dialogues, which he published two years after at Rome, where he undoubtedly would have passed for an impudent impostor, had he wrote a thing, and affirmed that the whole city was eye-witness to it, when at the same time no body had seen it.
592. But this extraordinary joy for the reduction of the Arians was soon interrupted by a war, (b) which, notwithstanding the conversion of Agilulph, the Lombards carried on some time after, against the Romans, with more fury than ever. For the patrician Romanus, who was exarch of Ravenna, having surprised several of the towns belonging to the Lombards, by the treachery of some of their noblemen, and amongst others the city of Perugia, Agilulph marched out of Pavia with a potent army; and, having

(b) Greg. 1. 2. Epist. 32. Ind. 10. Paul. Varn. 1. 4. c. 8.

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laid siege to Perugia, he took it, and caused the duke Morisio, who had delivered it up to the Romans, to be beheaded. (c) This being done, he found it no difficult task to retake all the places which the exarch had made himself master of; then marched with his victorious army up to the gates of Rome, and in his way put all to fire and sword. He, on this occasion, reduced the wretched Romans to the utmost extremity, and brought those desolations on them, which St. Gregory so often bewails, (d) who, during these disorders, was forced to suspend the Homilies upon Ezechiel which he used daily to rehearse to the people, being otherwise taken up in making preparations for the defence of that city. And nevertheless he continued his constant solicitations to the Exarch and the Emperour Mauricius, urging them to enter into a treaty of peace with Agilulph, which he represented to them as a thing absolutely necessary in the deplorable condition Italy was then reduced to. (e) So at last it was agreed upon by the intercessions of queen Theodelinda, to whom St. Gregory had made earnest application. And indeed this bishop expressed his gratitude for so great a service in his letters to her, as also to the king, who shewed a ready disposition toward a peace, notwithstanding the considerable advantages which he had over the Romans, This peace undoubtedly would have been concluded much sooner, had not the Emperour, who accused St. Gregory of suffering himself to be deceived by the fair words of Agilulph, deferred it by his imprudence, (f) which cost him the loss of most of the towns, that he had then in his possession in Italy, and chiefly the city of Cortona, which was of great use to him for the landing of the forces that came from Constantinople.

A. D.
595.

598.

599.

At last this peace was broken again, by reason of fresh differences which arose between Gallinicius, the new Exarch, and Agilulph, who still continued to carry on the war with success. But about four years after, (g) the affairs were again reconciled, a little while before the death of St. Gregory, who returned thanks to

600.

(c) Greg. 1. 4. Epist. 31. Hom. 18. in Ezech. & alib. Paul. Varn. 1. 4. c. 8.
(d) Greg. 1. 4. Epist. 29. & 31. (e) Greg. 1. 7. Ep. 41, 42. Paul. 1. 4. cap. 8.
lib. 4. Epist. 29. (f) Greg. 1. 4. Epist. 31. lib. 4. Epist. 23. (g) Greg.
Mag. 1. 12. Epist. 7. Ind. 7. Paul. Varn. 1. 4. c. 26. & 31.

A. D. 605. the king, by a letter which he writ to queen Theodelinda. This bishop was then extremely ill, and, upon the queen's giving him notice of the birth of prince Adaloaldus, whom Agilulph caused immediately to be declared king, he wrote his last letter to her. The holy Prelate who was mindful of all things, and who on all occasions fulfilled the duties of a great bishop and a righteous man, took care notwithstanding the very weak condition he then was in, (being at the point of death) to send presents to Theodelinda for the young prince, and amongst other things, a golden cross; wherein there was some of the wood of the holy cross upon which CHRIST was crucified; this he was to wear on his neck as a sign that he professed the Catholick faith, which he had just received with the holy baptism according to the form of the church.

613. But, what contributed very much to the entire conversion of the Lombards, was the arrival of the holy abbot Colombanus, who, flying the persecution of queen Brunehaud, and her grandson king Thierry, whose disorderly life and behaviour that holy man had reproved with a great deal of freedom, had passed the mountains, and was come to beg the protection of Agilulph, (*b*) who received him with all imaginable marks of honour, and offered him any part of his dominions, where, if he pleased, he might build a monastery, and by that means sanctify his country, as he had sanctified France, by the examples of his virtue, and the solidity of his wholesom and holy Instructions. He accepted of the king's offer: But before he departed from Milan, where the court resided at that time, finding that a great many of the noblemen were not as yet perfectly undeceived, with respect to the errors of Arianism, he began to confute that heresy in a most zealous manner, both by his sermons, and by a book which he wrote in order to prove the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, from the testimonies of scripture, against all the false interpretations of the Arians. (*i*) This added so much to his fame that the Princes and noblemen amongst the Lombards, being desirous that this apostolical man should remain in their country, presented him generously with large sums of money for the foundation of that famous and stately monastery of

(*b*) Ion. in vit. St. Colomb, cap. 29.

(*i*) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 43.

Bobium,

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Bobium, situated at the feet of the Alps, within twenty leagues of Pavia. Here he settled himself in such a manner that he resolved never to depart thence, notwithstanding all the solicitations of king Clotaire, (*k*) after his accession to the monarchy of France, who used all the arguments imaginable to persuade him to come over. So that after having lived a holy life in this Place, he died not long before Agilulph, who had reigned happily during the space of twenty five years, and was ever victorious both over the rebels and strangers. He died in the year six hundred and sixteen, leaving behind him his son Adaloaldus, who was twelve years of age, under the regency of Queen Theodelinda. A.D. 615. 616.

Nothing could happen so fortunately for the religion as the regency of this princess, to whom the noble Lombards paid a great veneration; and in order to confirm them still more in the Catholick faith, she obliged them, at the beginning of her regency, to make a publick and solemn declaration of their belief. She had caused a magnificent temple to be built at Modoea, (*l*) within twelve miles of Milan, which she dedicated to St. John the baptist, to whose protection she recommended herself, with the late king her husband, her children and the whole nation of the Lombards. About this time she repaired thither in order to make her offerings with a gift of the large revenues which she had appointed for that church; (*m*) and this was performed in the presence of all the noblemen of the kingdom, who were so ready to follow her great example, that they also chose that Saint for their Protector, and made a vow to send a yearly offering to him on the day of his Festival, as an acknowledgment of their being under his protection; and in order to beg his assistance and intercession for them with JESUS CHRIST, whom they confessed to be their Lord and GOD. And from that time the Lombards in all their actions and undertakings were used to invoke St. John the baptist, beseeching him to grant them his aid, by the virtue of JESUS CHRIST, the true GOD. After this the King and Queen, enjoying a perfect peace, gave proper orders for the repairs of those churches, which

(*k*) Ion. in vit. St. Colomb.
veter. Edit Ascensiana.

(*l*) Monza.

(*m*) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 22.

were

A. D. were ruined throughout the Empire of the Lombards; and, 616. having richly endowed them, they continued daily to promote the increase of religion and Christian piety. (*n*)

626. This lasted about ten years, till the death of Theodelinda; when a fatal accident happened which was followed by a disorder that proved more prejudicial than any preceding one, both to the state and religion. For Adaloaldus, (*o*) either by sickness or poison, being fallen into a kind of frenzy, which sometimes deprived him of the use of his reason, and caused him by intervals to act extravagantly, Ariovaldus, duke of Turin, and brother in law to the king, but as yet an Arian, made so strong an interest with the noble Lombards, that by their connivance he took possession of the Throne and expelled the poor unhappy Adoloaldus. This wretched Prince, who in his indisposition had so much sense as not to abandon himself, flew for protection to the Exarch of Ravenna, who being resolved to improve this opportunity to foment a civil war amongst the Lombards, undertook immediately to restore him to his throne, and drive out the usurper. (*p*) Honorious, then bishop of Rome, wrote concerning this affair to the Exarch, complaining very much of the bishops of Lombardy, that, contrary to the oath which they had taken to the late king Agilulph, they had so shamefully forsaken the king his son, in order to adhere to a tyrant; and endeavoured even to corrupt those who continued steadfast in their duty, and abhorred so strange a piece of treachery. This prelate intreated the Exarch in his letter, that, after he had restored the young king, as it was expected, he he would send those rebellious bishops to Rome, in order that so infamous a crime might not remain unpunished. But as the Exarch could not obtain any relief from the Emperour Heraclius, who at that juncture was at war with the Persians, he was forced to set aside his design, and in order accommodate his affairs according to the circumstances of the times, he made peace with Ariovaldus, and there was no farther notice taken of the unhappy Adaloaldus, who in all probability died at Ravenna amongst the Grecians.

(*n*) Paul. l. 4. c. 43.
Ep. ad. Isac. Exar. ap. Ivon.

(*o*) Ibid Aimoin. l. 4. c. 10.

(*p*) Honor. Pap.

Thus Ariovaldus remained peaceable possessor of the kingdom, without offering any molestation to the Catholics; tho' nevertheless he did a wicked action in his passion, which he soon after repented. Blidulphus, a priest and monk of the monastery of St. Colombanus, (q) being come to Pavia about some particular affairs, the king one day meeting him, saluted him first, and began to rally him and his brother-monks, upon their refusing to pay him the honour that was due to him, because he was not of their belief. Hereupon Blidulphus, without shewing the least marks of respect to him, replied with an admirable courage: "I should readily salute you, my Lord, with hearty wishes of all manner of blessings, were you not so unhappy as to adhere to those detestable impostors who seduce you, and to that cursed heresy which they teach you. If you propose that we should pay you that honour which is due to kings, first give that unto God which you owe him, by confessing the three adorable persons in the blessed Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in unity of Essence, without dividing them as you do into three different powers." The king, being exasperated at this answer, said, as he was walking along, that it was strange no man would revenge him on that impudent monk, who deserved to have his bones broken; yet this was not said aloud, fearing least the people should rise against the king; but one of his attendants having heard him, he immediately offered his services, and accordingly that very evening the thing was put in execution, for this courtier having watched the time when Blidulphus was returning home to his lodgings, just as he was passing through a lonesome street, he fell upon him, and beat him with a cudgel after so barbarous a manner, that, having broken his head in several places, and knocked him down to the ground, he there left him for dead. But the people finding him in this condition, were going to raise him up in order to carry him away, when of a sudden he rose up of himself, as if he had been just awaked out of a sound sleep, and found himself so perfectly recovered, that he returned alone without the least assistance to his monastery. The murderer, instead of receiving the reward which he expected of the king, was seized with an evil

(q) Ionas. in reb. gest. St. Bertolfi.

A. D. 626. spirit, who tormented him most cruelly, and forced him with hideous cries to confess his crime before all the people who were praising God, and saying that the Arians ought not to expect any other treatment from their master. Ariovaldus, who was the author of this wicked fact, dreading the like punishment, sent immediately this wretched fellow to the Abbot Attalas, successor to St. Colombanus, with magnificent presents, beseeching him that he would appease God's anger, and take pity of that miserable man. The holy Abbot generously replied, that he never would accept of any presents from an Arian : but nevertheless, he prayed to God for the possessed criminal, who, being delivered of his executioner, by the virtue of the Abbot's prayers, died soon after by a just judgment, which was a manifestation of God's glory. And, indeed, this made so great an impression on the king, that, from this time, he behaved with a great deal of humanity towards the Catholics, who were suffered to live in an intire freedom.

Some years after, Ariovaldus even did an action, which plainly shewed the respect and veneration he paid to the church. Proclus, bishop of Clerona, (*r*) pretended that the monastery of St. Colombanus, which was situated in his diocese, ought to be subject to his jurisdiction, and, in order to make his claim good, and bring over the other bishops into his interest, he sent them presents, and used all other means for that purpose. After this he thought it was proper to apply to the king, that, by his royal authority, he might be put in possession of that right, which he insisted on as an indisputable prerogative. But the king's answer was, that he and those of his party should produce proofs from the holy decrees, and canons of the church, to make out the justice of his pretensions. The Abbot Bertolfus who succeeded Attalus, being informed of the bishop's negotiations at court, and of the interest he was endeavouring to make in order to gain his cause, sent also some of his disciples thither to find out how the king was disposed in his favour, and whether he might rely on him for the preservation of his privileges and exemption, which on his part he likewise insisted on as indisputable. But the king, who still continued steadfast in his first resolution, told them, " That it did not belong to him

(*r*) *Jonas de reb. gest. St. Bertolfi apud Baron. ad ann. 626. n. 35. & seq.*

" to

“ to decide affairs of that nature, which the church only had right
 “ to determine by a canonical decree; That, nevertheless, he would
 “ not suffer that any injury should be offered to the Abbot whom
 “ he looked upon to be a faithful servant of God.” Bertolfus,
 perceiving that the king behaved with so much wisdom and good-
 ness, took the liberty to apply again to him to desire that he would
 give him leave to go to Rome, in order to maintain his right before
 the holy See: which Ariovaldus readily agreed to, tho’ he had
 some cause to be dissatisfied with Honorius bishop of Rome, who
 had openly declared himself against this Prince.

The historian, from whom we have this account, and whose
 works Paul Diaconus never saw, since he owns that he knows no-
 thing of that king, assures us, that he himself went on this journey
 with the holy Abbot, and that the bishop of Rome, after having
 inquired into the affair, and exhorted the holy man still to oppose
 Arianism, he sent him home with an ample privilege, whereby
 he declared that no bishop could pretend any jurisdiction or right
 of government over his monastery. This decree Honorius confirm-
 ed by the canons of three councils, who had already determined
 this affair in a very clear manner. (s) The first was the third
 council of Arles, which was held in or about the year four hun-
 dred fifty five, purposely to decide the great contest that was
 between the bishop Theodosius and Faustus Abbot of the monastery
 of Levens. The second was the council of Carthage in the year
 five hundred twenty five, under the Pontificate of Boniface, held
 at the request of the Abbot Peter, against Liberatus, metropolitan
 of the Province of Bisacena. And tho’ this council was lately
 taken from the library of the Vatican, and published in the new
 large collection of councils composed by the learned Fathers Labbé
 and Cossart, Jesuits, it is nevertheless quoted in some very au-
 thentical acts of above a thousand years standing, passed in the
 seventh century, which is now the subject of my history, viz.
 in the privilege granted by Bertefridus bishop of Amiens, to the
 Abby of Corbie in the year six hundred sixty four, and subscribed
 to by sixteen bishops; (t) in that which Landri bishop of Paris

(s) Tom. 1. Conc. Gall. Tom. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris. St. Honorat. in Provence.

(t) Tom. 6. Conc. Edit. Paris. p. 527.

A. D. 626. granted to the Abby of St. Dennis, (*u*) in the year six hundred fifty eight, signed by twenty five bishops, and maintained as authentic by a set of learned men, in opposition to some people who would not allow it; as also in the life of St. Babolenus the Abbot which Mr. Du Chêne delivered to us in his first volume of the writers of our history, in the year six hundred fifty four. And lastly, the third of these councils which have allowed the exemption and liberty of monasteries before the time of Honorius bishop of Rome, (*x*) was that of Carthage, under Reparatus in the year five hundred thirty four, which councils (as it it may be seen in the places I have quoted) declare themselves in favour of these exemptions, in terms far more expressive than any that have been used by the bishops of Rome, in the bulls which they published in behalf of the regular priests. As my subject happened to lead me so naturally into this short digression, I thought I might continue it without offence; since my design here is only to undeceive those who have conceived so false a notion as to believe that the bulls of the bishops of Rome were contrary to the ancient canons. For it is now evidently plain by this history, that, far from its being so, the very bishops of Rome themselves never made these bulls, but in order to comply with the ancient canons, which declare, that the monasteries shall enjoy those exemptions that were granted to them by the bishops assembled in council, on purpose to maintain a regular discipline under the command of their superiors.

Yet indeed it was a thing very extraordinary, and worthy of being placed in the history of Arianism, to see an Arian Prince pay so great a veneration to the church, nay even to a bishop of Rome, whom he had no cause to be pleased with. But I am very much induced to believe, that what he did, was by the persuasion of Gondiberga his queen, who was a most Catholick Princess, and daughter to the late king Agilulph and Theodelinda, and to whom at that time he shewed a great deal of compliance, in order to repair the injuries he had done her through the calumnious instigation of a wicked courtier. (*y*) This was a noble Lombard, whose

(*u*) Sirmond, Tom. 1. Conc. Gall. Tom. 6. Conc. Edit. Paris. p. 487. (*x*) Tom. 5. Conc. Edit. Paris. p. 1785. (*y*) Aimond. l. 4. c. 10. Append. ad Greg. Tur. c. 50, 51.

name was Adalulph, and who had the insolence to make amorous A.D. addressses to the queen. This Princess being highly provoked at 626. his impudence, spit in his face; whereupon he withdrew, and as this traitor dreaded a far greater punishment on the part of the king, should he not prevent him; he immediately went to him, and begged a private audience of him, upon an affair which would not admit of any delay, for that both his life and kingdom were concerned. Then he told him, "That for the space of "three days, the queen had been privately treating with Tasonus, "governour of Tuscany, for whom she had an affection; and "that it was agreed between them that she would marry him "as soon as she had poisoned the king." This wicked man coloured his accusations so well, by artfully intermixing some truths with a thousand falsities, that the king, who was naturally passionate, being overcome by a violent fit of jealousy, which blinded him, he immediately caused the two accused persons to be taken into custody. As for the innocent queen, she was confined to a castle, where she remained for the space of three years, without being admitted to justify her self, till Clotaire the second, king of France, sent ambassadors to Ariovaldus, complaining of the ill treatment, which he shewed to a Princess, who was descended from the royal blood of France, by his great grandfather. And as the king insisted on the justice of his proceeding, Ariovaldus, one of the ambassadors, proposed that, according to the custom, or, more properly, the abuses of those days, a Champion might have leave to assert the queen's innocency, in a single Battle, with the informer; which Ariovaldus having agreed to, one of the queens faithful servants offered to fight Adalulphus, who, not daring to refuse the challenge, was defeated, and his vile cheat discovered in the presence of all the spectators, who were greatly rejoiced at the queen's innocency, after which the king caused the traitor to be beheaded: Hereupon Gondiberga, being restored to her honour and dignity, had a greater respect shewed to her than ever; and undoubtedly it was in regard to her, that the king her husband (tho ever so much an Arian) treated the Catholicks so favourably. He even permitted her to build a magnificent church near Pavia, which, (z) after the ex-

(z) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 49.

A. D. ample of her mother Theodelinda, she dedicated to St. John the baptist, and adorned it with rich vases, and other precious ornaments. Nevertheless she was not so fortunate as Theodelinda had been, in the conversion of her husband; for Ariovaldus, after a reign of twelve years, died a professed Arian.

As this prince had left no children behind him, and the Arians were then very powerful at court, they chose Rotharis for his successor, who was also an Arian, but was so well inclined to follow the steps of his predecessor, that he would not suffer the Catholicks to be molested, nor that they should any wise be deprived of the liberty which they had enjoyed in the exercise of their religion: (a) But on the other hand, he resolved that the Arians should enjoy the same liberty without the least opposition. So that in most of the towns that were in his dominions there was during his reign two bishops, the one a Catholick, and the other an Arian. And it even happened in Pavia by an event, which proved somewhat extraordinary, that Anastasius, (bishop of the Arians) having embraced the Catholick faith, became afterwards himself the true Pastor of the Catholicks. (b) At the same time Rotharis was a prince of great valour: he had defeated the imperial Forces and taken all their Sea-port towns in Liguria from port Lune to Provence; and after having reigned successfully above sixteen years, he died, and left his kingdom to his son Rodoaldus. (c) As the kings of the Lombards had recommended themselves to the protection of St. John the Baptist, and that Rotharis was an Arian, his body was not interred in the magnificent temple which queen Theodelinda had built, and dedicated to the holy protector: But he was buried in a place very near the church; and it is reported that, some time after, an impious rogue having broke open his tomb, and stole away all the jewels that adorned the king's body, St John appeared to him, and upbraided him with his impiety, saying, "that altho' the king did not profess the true Religion, nevertheless a respect ought to be paid to his body, because he had implored his protection in his life-time; and that, as a punishment for the crime which he had committed, he should never enter his church, which he had profaned by so wicked an attempt."

(a) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 44.

(b) Id. c. 47.

(c) Id. c. 48.

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These words were accordingly fulfilled, for whenever this impious fellow endeavoured to enter St. John's church, he immediately was repulsed with an irresistible Force, as if some strong and powerful man had seized him by the Throat, in order to oppose his entering in; as the Historian, who gives us this account, (d) declares before GOD that it was delivered to him by a man who was eye-witness to it. I think that History, according to its principles, which are grounded on human faith, ought not to reject this particular as one of those invented fables, which are forged only to impose upon the credulity of mankind.

A. D.
638.

Rodoaldus was indeed heir to his father's crown, but he was far from possessing either his virtues or his good fortune; for having given himself up intirely to the passions of his youth, and having no other thought but that of gratifying his voluptuousness, he was wretchedly murdered by a Lombard gentleman, against whose honour he had cruelly offended. After his death the noblemen amongst the Lombards chose for their king Aribertus the son of Gondeband, (e) who was brother to queen Theodelinda; and it is very probable that he was a Catholick, in as much as he not only was related to this good queen, who was so zealous for the true Religion, but because he built a stately church near Pavia, which he consecrated to JESUS CHRIST the redeemer of the world, and endowed it with a handsome revenue, as also adorned it with rich and costly presents; which was no wise the custom of the Arians, who did not pay so great a devotion to JESUS CHRIST. (f) But be that how it will, nothing is more certain than that his two sons Bertaridus, and Godebertus, between whom he had divided the kingdom, were both Catholicks; and that Grimoaldus, duke of Benevento, taking advantage of their division, took also possession of the kingdom. This prince was likewise a Catholick, but whether he was so from the beginning, or that St. John bishop of Bergama had converted him, I know not. (g) It is even reported that he was under the special protection of St. John the baptist, and that the Emperour Constantius, who was come with a powerful army to attack him, having consulted a solitary who at that

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(d) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 4.

(e) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 50.

(f) Id. c. 53.

(g) Acta. Joan. Bergam. Paul. Varn. l. 5. c. 6.

time

A. D. 662. time had the reputation of a holy man, to know of him what would be the success of that war; the solitary, after having passed the whole night in prayer, told him that his enterprise would not prove fortunate, because that St. John the baptist, to whom a foreign Princess (which was Theodelinda) had dedicated a magnificent church, was continually interceding for the nation of the Lombards: But that the time would come when that church should be neglected, as likewise the worship which was then paid to the divine forerunner of JESUS CHRIST; that when this came to pass, the Empire of the Lombards should be destroyed. And indeed the event verified the prophecy of that holy man; for Constantius, who was a heretick of the sect of the Monothelites, was constantly beaten, and did nothing in Italy but plunder Rome, where he had been acknowledged as Emperour. And when Charlemagne destroyed the Empire of the Lombards, the church of St. John the baptist at Modoea was unworthily profaned by the crimes and debauches of the clergy, who had purchased the livings and revenues of it for money. And indeed Grimoaldus, who was a great General, possessed with many Princely qualities, was also inclined to virtue and piety, whereof he has given us some instances; which plainly shews that he was a Catholick, and an enemy to the Arians. (*b*) For he not only defended and religiously preserved the famous church of St. Michael on mount Gagan, which the Grecians had resolved to plunder, (*i*) but he also built one at Pavia to the honour of St. Ambrose who was the great scourge and subduer of Arianism at Milan, where the Lombards since that time established the principal see of their empire; and in order to convince the world that he was resolved to live and die in the faith of that holy doctor whom he had chosen for his protector, before he died he marked out his burial place in that church where he was interred.

But what contributed very much to establish the Catholick faith in the kingdom of the Lombards, and root out Arianism, was the return of Bertaridus, whom GOD, by his particular providence, restored again to his kingdom, in order to put religion into a flourishing condition. (*k*) This prince, who had retired into

(*b*) Paul. Var. l. 4. c. 47.(*i*) Id. l. 5. c. 53.(*k*) Paul. Var. l. 5. c. 33.

France

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France for refuge, after having made his escape out of the hands of Grimoaldus, was embarked on board of a ship in order to sail for England, because Grimoaldus had just made an alliance with the French; when of a sudden, as he was not as yet very distant from the shoar, there was the voice of some person heard who enquired whether king Bertaridus was on board, answer being made that he was there: *Give him notice*, replied the voice, *that king Grimoaldus has been dead three days*. Hereupon Bertaridus put immediately back into the port, and made a diligent enquiry after the person who had given this information; but as no such person could be heard of on shoar; Bertaridus did not in the least doubt but this notice was come from Heaven, and so resolved to obey the command of God who undoubtedly called him back into Italy. And indeed it plainly appeared that he was not deceived in his notion: For as soon as he had reached the passage of the Alps; he met a body of noble Lombards, who, hearing that he was on the road, were come to attend him with a royal equipage; and thus he was conducted into Pavia where he was again proclaimed king, and restored to the throne of his father Aribertus, after having deposed Garibaldus, a young child, who was the son of Grimoaldus by the sister of Bertaridus, whom the deceased king had married.

Bertaridus being in this manner restored to his kingdom, soon became master of the affection of all the Lombards; (l) for indeed he was a most accomplished prince, and consequently intitled to the love of his people. He was finely shaped, and had a beautiful complexion, with a stately mien; his proportions were regular; but above all things, he was good-natured, affable, polite and obliging, and made it his chief study to be beneficent to all in general; tho' indeed what gave still a greater lustre to his accomplishments was, the extraordinary zeal which he bore to the Catholick faith, (m) and his incomparable piety, besides his charity and liberality which were so great, that he exhausted the best part of his treasures for the maintenance of the poor, What completed his happiness was, that he had a wife who resembled him in all his perfections; this was queen Rodelinda, whom Grimoaldus

(l) Paul. Varn. l. 5. c. 36.

(m) Id. c. 33.

had

A. D. had banished to Benevento with the young prince Cunibertus, his son: (*n*) So that being returned to court she seriously apply'd her self to restore the faith to that great and glorious state it was in during the reign of queen Theodelinda. She caused a magnificent church to be built in the burial-ground of the Lombards, which lay without the walls of Pavia; and had it consecrated to the blessed virgin Mary, in order to inspire the people with devotion towards that virgin, whose attribute it is to bruise the head of the serpent, and destroy all heresies. The king also caused another church to be built near the walls of the town in the very place whence he had made his escape when he was persecuted by Grimoaldus, with a noble monastery of virgins consecrated to St. Agatha, and situated near the river Tefinus. In short, they both united their utmost endeavours to destroy Arianism, and restore the true faith throughout their whole dominions; and God giving a blessing to their labour, he so ordered it that they enjoyed a long and happy peace, during which they made so great a progress in their noble design, that from this time the Arians not only lost all their power in that kingdom, but we do not even hear that there were any of them left to practise the exercise of their heresy. (*o*) For their son king Cunibertus inherited their virtues, and after having maintained the religion during his life-time, he desired to be buried near his Father, in the church which his great grandfather Aribertus had consecrated to JESUS CHRIST, the Redeemer of the world. He left behind him one only son, who was then but a child, and had committed him to the guardianship of his faithful friend Ansbrandus who was a nobleman of great wisdom and a good Catholick: But this young prince about eight months after was deposed by Ragombertus duke of Turin, and cousin-german to the late king Cunibertus. This prince was also a Catholick, tho' usurper. (*p*) He reigned only one year: And his son Aribertus, who succeeded him, paid so great a devotion to the holy see, (*q*) that he made over the Cottian Alps to the bishop of Rome, as a free and

703.

(*n*) Id. c. 34. (*o*) Paul. Varn. l. 6. c. 17. (*p*) Id. c. 18. (*q*) Id. l. 6. c. 28. Tarantesa Suza. with Genoa and the River Ponante.

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absolute gift for ever, and sent the deeds thereof written in golden letters to John the Sixth, then bishop.

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Luitprandus, the son of the loyal Ansbrandus, who died three months after, having expelled Aribertus, was proclaimed king of the Lombards, the latter being drown'd in the Tesinus as he was endeavouring to make his escape. (r) We cannot in the least doubt, but that this Prince, who was extremely pious and charitable towards the poor, was also a real Catholick; for it was he that redeemed the body of St. Augustin from the Saracens, who had invaded Sardinia, where it had been transported by the bishops who were banished thither during the persecution of the Vandals. He received it at Pavia in a most magnificent manner, and paid all the honours to it that were due to that great doctor, who, whilst he was living, confuted the Arians as well as the other Hereticks, which, in his time, caused such great disorders in the church. Besides, this prince confirmed the donation of the Cottian Alps which his predecessor had made to the holy see; and was so influenced by the prayers of Gregory the second, bishop of Rome, that, notwithstanding the army that he had brought with him to the very gates of that city, (s) which was ready to be delivered up to him, he nevertheless flung himself at the bishop's feet, and offered up his arms, with a silver cross and a crown of gold, to the shrine of St. Peter. His nephew Hildebrandus, who succeeded him, was only reproachable in one thing, which was, that he obliged the Lombards, by his too great severity, to dispossess him in about seven months after his accession to the throne; and Rachis, duke of Triuli, whom they proclaimed in his room, was so piously disposed, that, being overcome by the exhortations of Zachariah bishop of Rome, he abdicated his kingdom, (t) and became a monk in the monastery of mount-Cassinus: And tho' his brother Astolphus, who reigned in his place, and Didierus successor to the latter, who was the last king of the Lombards, had often made war against the bishops of Rome on account of temporal interests, nevertheless these Princes were all professors of the Catholick faith, as well as Luitprandus, who besieged Rome,

712.

729.

744.

(r) Paul. Varn. 1. 6. c. 35.
Zach. Leo-Ost Chr. Cofs.

(s) Anast in Greg. II.

(t) Anast. in

A. D. and whose soldiers plundered the Basilica of St. Peter, which in
 756. those days was situated on the out-side of the walls, and had been
 spared by the Arian Goths, and it may probably be, that God
 punished them for these wrongful invasions on the territories of
 the church, by transmitting the Empire of the Lombards to Charle-
 774. magne, to whom the holy See was indebted for the best part of the
 dominions that belong to it to this day. For he confirmed the
 donation of the Exarcatus of Ravenna, which his father king Pepin
 had granted to the Roman church (after having defeated Astolphus,
 and which the Lombards had lately taken by conquest from the
 Greeks) as also the Province of Pantapola, which comprehended
 Ancona, with four other cities of la Marca: to which he added
 the Province of Sabina, and the dutchies of Spoleto and Bene-
 vento. I thought fit to give my reader this small abridgment of
 the remaining part of the history of the Lombards, in order to
 convince the world, that there happened no relapse of Arianism
 during the reign of their twelve last kings, which continued for
 the space of about one hundred and fourteen years, and that after-
 wards this abominable heresy was utterly rooted out of Italy.

Thus Arianism, which arose in Egypt about the year three hun-
 dred and twenty, after having spread it self throughout the East,
 and the greatest part of the West amongst the Visigoths, Vandals,
 Suevi, Ostrogoths, Bourguignons, and Lombards, whilst these na-
 tions were possessed of the major part of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Italy,
 the Islands, and Pannonia; this heresy, I say, was totally extinct
 towards the year six hundred and sixty, having reigned chiefly
 by the influence of these Barbarian nations for about the space of
 three hundred and forty years. For since that time we do not find
 that any people or society have professed Arianism, till after an in-
 1530. terval of near nine hundred years; it was again revived in the
 last century, but by one of the new Arians, or those who are known
 by the names of Antitrinitarians, who at last were confounded
 amongst the Deists and Socinians of our times. And this is what I
 propose now to make appear, in order to render my history compleat.

When Luther at the beginning of the last century had drawn up
 the scheme of his heresy from the interpretation of the scriptures
 according to his own sense, despising the authority of the Fathers
 and

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and councils, as also the authority of the church from which he departed, several of his disciples, believing that they might assume the same liberty which their master had done before them, formed that vast number of sects which were all different from his, and were the cause in his time of a general division throughout Germany concerning the articles of faith which he had struck at. And as people may attempt any thing, according to this principle, which allows every one the liberty of interpreting the scriptures just as he shall think fit, and of rejecting, as Apochryphal, whatever does not seem agreeable to him, so there started up one man amongst the rest, who, being more bold and undertaking than all the others, and following the steps that were set before him, attempted even to undermine the very foundations of the Christian religion, by reviving the blasphemies of Arius, against the adorable mystery of the Trinity. (u) This new inventor of heresies was one Michael Servetus, a Spaniard of Taragona in Catalonia, a man who wanted neither wit nor ability, but was so extravagantly presumptuous, that tho' he had not as yet attained the years of twenty five, he thought himself the oracle of the world, and the only prophet that merited the peoples attention. Being arrived at Paris, in order to study Physick, he soon gave ear to the poisonous notions of the Lutheran heresy, which some German doctors who had found means to creep into the university amongst those learned men that were invited thither by Francis the first, were beginning to spread abroad. He nevertheless did not strenuously adhere to this sect, for as he thought himself a man of too great a capacity to be the follower of another person's opinion, and that he was absolutely resolved to be himself the head of a party, he set out in order to make a progress in the world. He travelled thus through France and Germany, and even passed over into Africa, on purpose to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Alcoran. After which he forced a scheme of religion which was composed out of the errors of all the sects which at that time made the greatest noise in the world. For he rejected, as Luther had done, whatever that Heretick had condemned in the church. He would not allow the baptism of infants, no more than the Anabaptists. He main-

(u) Hof. 1. 1. de Hæres. Lindan. Dubitant. Dial. 2. Prateol. Elench. hæres.

A. D. 1530. tained with the Sacramentarians, that the Eucharist was but a meer figure, and carrying his impiety still farther than any one had done before him, he was so daring as to say, with the Mahometans, that the Godhead was vested in one only person, and that **JESUS CHRIST** consequently was not **GOD**. Nay, he even outdid Arius in blasphemy; for he said, that **GOD** the Father ought alone to be worshipped; that the Son of **GOD** was not a person, no more than the Holy Ghost, who was only an emanation of the Essence of **GOD** which began to take its being at the creation of the world; and that the Trinity, whom the Catholics worshipped, was a three-headed Cerberus, composed of three imaginary deities. These were the horrible blasphemies, which this impious man was so bold as to publish throughout Germany in his abominable books, which bore the title of the errors of the Trinity, and which he caused to be printed at the same time that the confession of Augsbουργ was drawing up in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty, that is to say, eight hundred and seventy years after Arianism was so utterly rooted out, that it did not make the least appearance in any part of the world.

This wicked man spent above twenty years in running over the Provinces of Europe, (x) especially those of Germany and Poland, propagating, in all places where he passed, his detestable doctrine, which he always pretended to maintain by the passages of the scripture only. And as there were great disorders occasioned at that time on account of religion, and that all those, who had separated themselves from the church, would admit of no other judge but the scripture, which every one interpreted according to his own meaning, he readily found people that followed his opinion, and exclaimed, as he did, openly against the mystery of the blessed Trinity, acknowledging the Father only to be **GOD**. For about this time Campanus, a disciple of Luther's, maintained publicly the very same blasphemies at Wittemberg. He would have preached up the like doctrine in the dutchy of Cleves, which was his native country, but he was taken up and confined to a prison, from whence he never was released, because he still continued obstinate in his errors, (y) tho' at the same time pretending to be a

(x) Hof. l. 1. de hæres. (y) Lindan. Dial. 2. Prateol. V. Camp. Confess. Mansfel. Prateol. ibid. Io. Vigand. lib. de Deo contra novo Arian.

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Prophet, he often used to affirm, that he should be set at liberty at a particular time which he had set for that purpose, but he always was deceived. Suenfeldius, a Lutheran, and Matthias Illyricus, who was condemned as an Arian, by the university of Wittenberg, declared themselves for the same opinion; and some time after, Gregory of Paul, minister of Cracovia, and head of the Deists, asserted publickly, that the person of the Father only was God, and that tho' the Son and Holy Ghost were of God, yet nevertheless they were not God. He even assumed so much impudence, as to expose to publick view large pieces of paintings, wherein was seen a Temple representing the church of Rome, whereof Luther was demolishing the roof; Calvin was pulling down the walls, and he himself was undermining the foundation, by striking, as he did, at the mystery of the Trinity, which he was endeavouring to destroy. These were the first fruits of the impieties of Servetus in Germany and Poland, and as he was very desirous to spread his infection in France, he had the assurance to go to Geneva, tho' Calvin, (z) who was then accused of favouring the Arianism, had wrote against him. But he was no sooner arrived there, but Calvin, who was resolved to justify himself at the expense of Servetus, caused him to be taken up by the magistrates. He had even a long conference with him, wherein, as Servetus would allow no other judge but the scripture, rejecting the authority of the Fathers and councils for the interpretation thereof, Calvin himself was in some manner puzzled, for these are his very arguments against us: and moreover, when he wrote upon the tenth chapter of St. John, he saith, that the Fathers were mistaken in their explanation of this passage, *I and my Father are one*, which only signifies, according to his sense, the perfect consent of the Will, and not the unity of Essence. (a) But at last, as they found that this Arian (whatever he said in his defence against Calvin) still continued obstinate in his impious propositions, which were reduced to the number of thirty eight, (b) after having communicated them to the states of Bern, Zurich, Basle, and Schaffousen, and taken their advice in the matter, he was condemn-

1553.

(z) Calv. Epist. 52. & seq. Hof. l. 1. de hæres.
(b) Spond. ad an. 1553.

(a) Lindan. dubit. Dial. 2.

A. D. 1553. ed to be burned alive: Which was accordingly executed on the twenty seventh of october in the year one thousand five hundred fifty three. Tho' at the same he most earnestly prayed that they would shew him mercy, (*c*) or at least that they would be contented to cut off his head. The protestants found this proceeding of Calvin's somewhat too severe, because it seemed to authorise that cruelty which they themselves complained of, and which was exercised against them in France and in England, where at the same time those who preached up for their opinions, or maintained them obstinately, were equally burned alive. But he cleared himself openly by a writing which he published upon this subject; and wherein, after having given a particular account to the publick of all that passed in that affair, with relation to Servetus, he shews that it is in the power of magistrates to punish Hereticks with death: Which Philip Melanchton found to be so plainly proved, (*d*) that he wrote a letter to him in order to acquaint him, that he was not of the number of those who blamed him; that, on the contrary, he intirely approved so reasonable an opinion.

But the mischiefs which Servetus occasioned by his detestable books, were too great to be retrieved by his punishment. For he had made a great number of disciples and followers of his doctrine, who, before and after his death, promoted horrible confusions throughout many kingdoms, but particularly in Hungary, Poland, and Transilvania, as I shall presently inform you. Georgius Blandrata, a native of Piemont, and doctor of physick, as had been Servetus, having escaped from the Inquisitions at Pavia, he retired to Geneva, where, after he had thoroughly enquired into the doctrine of Calvin, he thought that, according to the same principle (of the scriptures being interpreted without the authority of the church) he might proceed forwards, and adhere to the opinion of Servetus, whose books he had studied with application. He therefore travelled through Suifferland, Germany and Poland, where he conferred with Gregory of Paul, and from thence passed into Transilvania, with Paul Alciatus, a Milaneze, and also an Arian, who afterwards turned Mahometan. He thought he might perform great matters in a country, where the young king John Sigismund,

(*c*) Lind. *ibid.* Prateol.

(*d*) Apud, Calv. in *Epist.*

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who had been just restored by the grand seignior Soliman, suffered both Lutherans and Calvinists, whom the monk George, during his administration, never would tolerate. And accordingly he found means to be introduced at court by favour of his profession, and at last became physician to the king, and to Petrovitz, his prime minister, or, as I may more properly say, his governor, who was already a Lutheran in his heart. This nobleman was he that first suffered himself to be seduced by the deluding arguments of Blandrata, who infused into him the poisonous principles of Arianism. It was not very difficult for him after this to spread his opinion amongst the courtiers; and even to influence the mind of the young Prince, who took delight in hearing his physician, when he assumed the character of a Divine, and talked philosophically of the Trinity, which he treated as a chimera. King Sigismund nevertheless did not dare to declare himself openly, because his mother, queen Isabell, who was a pious and Catholick Princess, was yet living; as also because Soliman his protector had wrote a letter to the queen, whereby he desired that she would not suffer any new sects to come into the kingdom, fearing they should disturb the peace of it, by causing a division in the minds of the people, upon so nice a point of religion. 1553.

And indeed, as the will of Soliman alone was a law, against which the Princes his vassals or tributaries, would not venture to transgress, the Lutheran and Calvinist preachers, as well as the new Arians or Antitrinitarians, who were beginning to form a considerable party in Transilvania, were all banished out of the country. But the queen dying soon after, and Selim, (who was no wise solicitous concerning the affairs of religion) having succeeded his father Soliman, who died of a fit of the Apoplexy at the siege of Zigeta, the Lutherans and Calvinists, with the Arians, returned back into Transilvania, and being protected by Petrovitz, they assumed greater liberties than ever. About this time it was that Blandrata (after having deluded into his opinion the minister Francis David, who from a protestant was become an Arian,) corrupted the greatest part of the court by the ministry of this impious man. The chief members of the council made an open profession of Arianism, following the example of Petrovitz, who all this while was exercising violent prosecutions against the Catholicks,

A. D. 1566. Catholicks, because the king had declared himself a Protestant immediately after the decease of the queen his mother. Lastly, as this wretched prince was intirely governed by his physician, who had already poisoned him with his pernicious doctrine, he contrived it so, that, forsaking the Lutherans and Calvinists, as he had done the Catholicks, he declared himself openly for Arianism, on occasion of a sermon preached by Francis David, wherein he publicly proclaimed that execrable heresy, in opposition to the adorable mystery of the trinity.

The Calvinists and Lutherans, being thunderstruck at this progress of the Arians, used their utmost endeavours to oppose it: But Blandrata took hold of this very opportunity, to render his party still more powerful. For he persuaded them to meet in a publick conference, which should be held in the presence of the king, who was to be the judge of it, in order that he might plainly see (as Blandrata gave out) which of the two parties had truth on their side. The Protestants could not with honour refuse this challenge, because they themselves were generally the most forward in promoting those kind of disputes in the presence of Princes and magistrates. Therefore they found themselves under the necessity of agreeing to it; (e) and the conference was publicly held at Varadin, in the presence of the king, and of the whole court, between Blandrata and Francis David on the one part, and Peter Melvius and Peter Caroli, both Calvinists, on the other part, being attended by a small number of Lutherans, who maintained the same cause. At the first opening of this conference, David, as it was the custom amongst the Protestants, immediately protested that he required no other judge of their dispute but the word of God in all its purity, without any mixture of those things which are added to it by the invention of men; and hereupon he proposed all the passages which the primitive Arians had made use of in order to refute the divinity of JESUS CHRIS^T, and these he strengthened with many other passages which he produced out of the old and new testament: For no man had a finer manner of delivering the scriptures, which, as we have been informed, he knew by heart, almost from the beginning to the end. Here

(e) Rescius de Convent hæret.

the Calvinists were necessarily obliged, in answer to these passages of Francis David, to have recourse to the explanation which the fathers and councils had given of them, (without which they could never have declared their true sense) which was delivered to us by those oracles of the church, and every one would have interpreted the scriptures according to his own fancy, so that neither the one side nor the other could have shewed any authority to persuade each other into a belief. The case being thus, this minister was resolved to take advantage of their answers, and confound them by their own arguments, and therefore addressed them in the following manner:

“ How came it, Gentlemen, said he, that you disapprove the
 “ Roman Catholicks, when, in order to maintain the interpretation
 “ they give to those passages which you oppose to them, they
 “ produce the authority of the fathers, and the decisions of the
 “ councils, which are made by men who are liable to mistakes?
 “ And now you yourselves employ against us those very weapons
 “ which you so much despise, when the Romans make use of them
 “ against you. I advise you to give up this human authority
 “ which you vainly oppose to passages that are so undeniably
 “ plain; or, if you are resolved to adhere to that authority, in
 “ order to use means to corrupt them; I would have you turn
 “ Romans, since their opinion, which you seem to reject as we do,
 “ is only supported by the authority of the Fathers and Councils.

As this reply seemed very plausible against people, who at all times used the same arguments after an insulting manner against the Catholicks; and as the passages which were produced against them appeared more reasonable than those which they make use of to oppose us, it was received with great applause by the prince, and by the major part of the assembly, who implicitly followed his opinion: So that the Protestants, who were extremely puzzled, not being able to object any thing, but what was immediately refuted against them, were at last under the necessity of taking party with the Arians, or of dissembling, till such time as they could meet with a more favourable opportunity. Therefore it was plainly seen on this occasion (as it ever will undoubtedly be to the end of the world) that a Heretick, who will not receive the authority of the church for the explanation of the true word of God; never can be able to convince another.

A. D. 1566. This victory which the Arians gained over the Protestants, was the cause of their triumphing throughout all Transilvania. They immediately published the proceedings of the conference, wherein they had acquired such great advantages over the Protestants. (f) They wrote two books against the mystery of the Trinity, which they caused to be printed and dispersed over all Transilvania, Poland, and Hungary. They found means to send the most qualified of their youth to the universities of Padoua and Venice, with directions to converse with the Jews, in order to learn of that perfidious nation, how to blaspheme against the son of God. (g) But of all things they made it their chief business to procure a translation of the Bible which they falsified in three different languages; first in Greek, (having employed for this purpose Jacobus Paleologus, a Calvinist who turned Arian) then in Hebrew, for which they sent into Poland for a certain man whose name was Matthias, and had the reputation of being very learned in that tongue; he also openly declared himself a professor of Arianism: And lastly, in the vulgar tongue, by a translation which they made of it in the Hungarian language, in order that the Bible, falling into the hands of the people who are always highly delighted with any novelty, it might insensibly instil into them the poison of their heresy, by means of the very passages which they had corrupted. And indeed it has been observed in all times, that the most dangerous artifice of the Hereticks, was always to put the scriptures of their own translating into the hands of the common people, in order that, after having taken from the text what they did not like, and added what was agreeable to them, under the pretence of giving it a finer turn, according to the genius of the language, they might readily find therein wherewithal to maintain their errors. And for this reason it was absolutely necessary, in order to convict these new Arians, that the corruptions which they had introduced into their version should be discovered. So when prince Stephen Battori, who succeeded John Sigismund, called the Jesuits into Transilvania, in order to confute this heresy; these Fathers applied themselves chiefly to the translation of a new version, which undeceived the

(h) Spond. ad ann. 1566. n. 30.

Item. Flor. de Rem. l. 2. c. 15.

world, by discovering all the falsities that were contained in the translations of those Hereticks.

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But whilst Blandrata was thus by his own means promoting such confusions in Transylvania, he was also causing great disorders in Poland by the means of his emissaries, whom he sent thither under the directions of Valentinus Gentilis, the most intimate of his correspondents. This man, who was born in Calabria, had embraced the doctrine of Servetus, which he explained in different terms, saying, that no other, but the Father only, had the Essence of the true God, and that he was the *Essentiator*, and that the Son was *essentiated*, having received of the Father an Essence different from his: (b) so that he denied, as it is the maxim with all the Arians, that there were three persons of the same Essence; and inventing horrible blasphemies against the Trinity, in imitation of his predecessor Servetus, he called it the new idol, the tower of Babel, the sophisticated deity; and the three phantastical persons in one only God, who was a fourth God unknown, as this impious man expressed himself, who acknowledged three persons as three eternal spirits; but he would have it that the two others were inferior to the first who had given them two divinities different from his own, and from hence it comes that this man was the head of the Tritheists who overran Poland. For having made his escape from Geneva, (where he was upon his parole) after that Calvin, who had caused him to be arrested, had obliged him to a recantation, he came over into Poland, where Blandrata had invited him, and whither the new Arians repaired from all parts, as soon as Sigismond Augustus, through too much lenity and indulgence, had admitted the Lutherans and Calvinists into Poland, from whence king Sigismond had always banished them. Lelilo Socini of Sien, and Matthew Gribaldus, a lawyer of Tubinges, came thither also to meet Gentilis: Peter Stator, Lucas Sternbergius, Lismannus, Gomefius, and Volanus, and amongst a thousand more of the like stamp, the wretched Bernardin Okin, repaired likewise to Poland, in order to declare themselves open enemies to

(b) Bened. Aretius in Hist. Valent. Lindan. Dial. 2. Prateol. Canis. Proem. de nov. Corrup.

A.D. the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, which they could not attempt 1561. to do elsewhere. (i)

The reputation of the holy and most famous order of Capucius, is too well established throughout the world, to receive any prejudice from the deplorable fall of that wretched apostate Okin, who was not their founder, as some authors have given it out since Beza, (k) but was one of the first and most considerable persons of that blessed reform, wherein he only entered about nine years after it was instituted by Matthew Basci, the founder of it. The applause, which the sermons of Okin, and the extraordinary austerity of his life, had acquired him throughout Italy, had swelled him with pride, and being, as the Apostle expresses it, vainly puffed up with his own thoughts, he lost both his faith and reason. For John Valdes, a Spaniard, who was come from Germany, and was then at Naples, having informed him of this new doctrine of Luther, Okin attempted to spread it throughout several towns in his sermons. And being summoned to appear at Rome upon this account, he was persuaded by Peter Vermilli (called the martyr) his intimate friend, and who was also accused of heresy, to take such measures as would be the safest for them, which was to retire to Geneva, from whence these two apostates, the one a Capuchin, and the other a regular canon of the order of St. Augustin, having, according to the rules of this new reformation, taken each of them a wife, they at last went over into England, after having for a long time travelled throughout Switzerland and Germany. But as queen Mary would not suffer them to live in England, Okin, forsaking his friend Martyr, went over into Poland, in order that he might be at liberty to profess Arianism, which daily increased in that kingdom. Here he composed his dialogues, which were full of abominable blasphemies against JESUS CHRIST and the Holy Ghost. (l) But having the impudence to preach up Polygamy, and to dedicate a book to king Sigismund Augustus, wherein he pretended to prove the lawfulness of it, he was forced to leave Poland, where the people were beginning to rise up against him. And after having wandered some time longer in Transilvania, he at last retired miserably poor to a little

(i) Annal. Capuc.

(k) Beza in Icon.

(l) Rescius Flor. de Rem. l. 3. c. 5.
village

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village of Moravia, where he died of the Plague, abandoned by all the world. Some writers nevertheless have said, (m) that GOD in this extremity shewed him mercy, and that after having lived so long a professed apostate, he died a true penitent. (n) But the knowledge hereof is reserved to GOD alone who doth justice, and sheweth mercy as he thinketh proper.

Now the party of the Tritheists became so powerful in Poland, that it grew much superior to that of the Protestants, whether Lutherans, or Calvinists; several amongst the nobility, and even of the Palatines, professed that doctrine openly, which spread it self throughout Lithuania, Rutha, Podolia and Volinia. It also powerfully increased in Moravia and Silesia, which lay near Poland; and as those who came thither to preach up their doctrine, spoke of GOD after the manner that was most agreeable to them, without following any other rule but their private notions, this detestable heresy multiplied, and divided it self into so many different sects, that they were reckoned to be in number thirty two, which nevertheless agreed together in denying the divinity of JESUS CHRIST; (o) and some of them were even so bold as to say, that he was but a man, tho' more excellent than all other men, which soon after occasioned the birth of Socinianism. The Protestants, and chiefly the Calvinists, who were just beginning to establish themselves in that kingdom, growing insolent under the toleration of Sigismund, could not bear to see that the Tritheists had so much the upper hand of them: but they met almost with the same fate which befel those of Transilvania. For both parties having challenged each other to a dispute, during the diet of Petricovia, those amongst the Palatines who favoured them equally, prevailed with the king, that the chief doctors of both parties should hold a conference in an open and general assembly of the whole nation. (p) The great cardinal Hosius, bishop of Varmia, used his utmost endeavours to dissuade the king from so strange a resolution, in order to hinder the divinity of JESUS CHRIST from being brought in question in so solemn an assembly. But finding that the affair was agreed on, and that he endeavoured in vain to oppose so scanda-

(m) Grati. vit. Card. Commend. (n) Annal. Capuc. (o) Rescius de Sect. Evang. Staphil. Prateol. (p) Resc. de convent. Hæret. Flon. de Rem. l. 4. cap. 12.

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lous a proceeding, he chose rather to retire from the diet, than to be obliged to hear blasphemies uttered out against JESUS CHRIST. This conference was therefore held between the Calvinists and Tritheists, and accordingly there were presidents chosen on both sides, who were appointed to preside alternatively at the disputations. The High-Marshal, who was a Calvinist, and presided on the first day, made a short speech, whereby he exhorted the doctors to live in peace, and to find out some means of agreeing together upon those articles which were then to be debated; and at the conclusion of his discourse, he said, "Therefore, Gentlemen, let us begin in the name of GOD, and of the blessed Trinity." Hereupon one of the Tritheists replied in a haughty manner; "To what you have said, Sir, we shall not answer, Amen; for, in the first place, I declare to you, that we do not acknowledge any Trinity whom we can invoke, and that we expect no assistance from yours, but from the Father alone, whom we worship only as true GOD." Well, replied the Marshal, "Let us begin the conference upon that article, since it has now introduced it self." Then Gregory of Paul, and Gentilis, proposed all the passages of the former Arians; and as Andrew Radonien, and the minister Silvius, who were of the party of the Calvinists, appealed (as we do) to the ancient Fathers and the Nicene council, in order to produce the true explanation of them; but the Arians made a jest of them, and refuted them by the very same arguments which the Protestants daily use against us upon the other articles. For the Arians openly declared to them (as the Protestants constantly do to us) "That they required nothing but the word of GOD in its purity, which made it self manifest enough by its own light; that they would not admit of any thing but what was contained therein: and that it never expressed in precise terms, that either the Son was consubstantial to the Father, or that there were three distinct persons in one and the same Essence: That the Fathers were mistaken: That the Nicene council was but an assembly of men, and even such men as were either bribed or compelled by Constantine, and that one council being as good as another, they chose rather to follow the decisions of the councils of Sirmium and Rimini, who, by the authority of the Emperor Constantius, had received the doctrine of Arius." In short, what-

ever

ever the Protestants argue daily against us, was then made use of by the Arians against them, and their objections were directly the same with those which the Protestants make to us in our controversies with them. This appeared chiefly by the beginning of the gospel of St. John, which the Arians explained in a figurative sense, as they understood it, as also by some other passages, which, as they pretended, were agreeable to their Explanation, but would never receive the interpretation of the Fathers; and thus they continued several days disputing to no purpose, upon that only passage, because they had no certain rule to direct them, till at last the Protestants one day, after having disputed a long while, (q) began openly to sing the Hymn of the glorification, "Glorify be unto GOD the Father, and to his only Son, together with the Holy Ghost the comforter for evermore." And hereupon the Arian ministers and noblemen rose up in a passion, and broke up the assembly, protesting solemnly that they could not bear to see so great an injury offered to GOD.

Thus ended this great conference without producing any other fruits, unless it be, that it caused a division between the Lutheran and Calvinist Protestants, who upbraided each other for having given room by their doctrine to this abominable heresy. The Calvinists said, that Blandrata himself had owned, in a dispute which he had with the Lutherans at Alba Julia, (r) that Luther was the first who had opened his eyes to the knowledge of the faith. And indeed we find in his writings, that he could not admit of the word *consubstantial*, without great reluctance, and that also the word *Trinity* was no wise agreeable to him; which undoubtedly gave occasion to Herferus, Campanus, Suensfeldius and Illyricus, the head of the centuriators, all of them professed Lutherans, to strike, as they did, at the mystery of the most blessed trinity. But the Lutherans complained still more of the Calvinists, and they openly called them Arians, (s) nay, even Sabellians. For they said that Calvin began to attack that great mystery of the Trinity, when he was so bold as to say, "that the holy Fathers had not well proved the consubstantiality of the Word, by these

(q) Deo Patri sit Gloria, &c. (r) Weiffenburg. Lut. contra Latomum. Lindan. Dial. 2. Prateol. in Trinitar. (s) Stancar. cont. Gent. Selusembur 1. 2. art. 3.

A. D. 3566. " words of **JESUS CHRIST**, (t) in St. John, chap. 10. I and my Father are one; that this expression of the Nicene creed, **GOD of GOD**; seemed harsh to him; that the words which followed " were but a simple and childish repetition; that the words person and substance, ought to be abolished, (u) and also when he said, " that he had neither approved nor disapproved the creed of St. " Athanasius till such time as he had tryed it by the scriptures, " and that nevertheless he could not resolve to approve of this " prayer, Blessed trinity one only **GOD**, have mercy on us. And here they said again, that the most inveterate Arians, as Blaudrata, Paulus, Alciatus, David, Gentilis, Gribaldus, and a thousand others, had been Calvinists, and that they confessed they " had found in the doctrine of their master the very principles " which they then maintained, either by confounding the persons " in **GOD**, as Sabellius; or by separating them, by the difference " of essence and nature, as had been done by Arius and Macedonius.

To these examples they might also have added that of the famous Andrew Dutitius, bishop of the five churches in Hungary, (x) and one of the most learned men of his days. For falling passionately in love with a beautiful Polish lady at the court of king Sigismund Augustus, where he was sent Ambassador from the Emperor Maximilian, he soon after used his utmost endeavours at the council of Trent to persuade the Fathers, that it would be very expedient to exempt the cloisters from celibacy, or at least that bishops might be allowed to marry. But finding that so brutish a proposal was immediately rejected with horror, he was so prepossessed with his foolish passion, that, in order to marry that lady, he turned Calvinist: and seeing afterwards, (as he wrote it to his intimate friend Beza) that if there be not a certain authority which binds the minds of men in one only opinion, a man may attempt any thing, he at last declared himself openly a Deist, saying, that it was sufficient to believe that there was a **GOD**, and to observe the law of nature as an honest man. In this manner

(t) Calvin, in c. 10. Joan. & in scrip. cont. Valent. Gent. Canis. de Corrupt. Instit. lib. 1, cap. 13. (u) Vide Canis. Præf. de Corrupt. Lindan. Præteol. Rem. 1. 2. cap. 15. (x) Isthuanf. de Reb. Hung. 1. 25. Flor. lib. 4. cap. 12.

the Protestants upbraided each other. But in order to reconcile them, it may assuredly be said that those who were the revivers of Arianism, after an interval of near nine hundred years, were all before that, either Lutherans or Calvinists. A. D. 1566.

Nevertheless there were several other conferences held between the Protestants and the Arians at Sandomira, Lublin, Alba-Julia, and in many other cities of Poland and Transilvania, but with no better success, because the Arians attacked the Protestants with their own weapons. What proved advantageous to Religion in the conference which was held at Petricovia, was, that Sigismond, being awaked out of his deep lethargy, by the strong remonstrances of the bishops, and particularly of Hosius, as also being in himself a good Catholick, and having an extream abhorrence to the blasphemies of the Tritheists, he published an edict whereby he banished out of his dominions all the foreigners who had introduced so detestable a doctrine. (y) Gentilis, before he left the country, had so much assurance as to present him with a Book, wherein he expounded the articles of his impious opinion, which he protested to be the gospel in its purity, and wherein, (out of a wicked jest, which he had learned of Gregory of Paul) speaking of St. Athanasius's creed, he called it *Symbolum Satanasti*. But if these impious wretches were spared by the indulgence of mankind, they were severely punished by divine justice. As Gentilis and Lelius Socinus were travelling through Germany, and Suifferland, in their way to Italy, and preaching their Doctrine where-ever they passed, Socinus died at Basil, and Gentilis was arrested by the people of Bern, who caused him to be executed; and even to his death he would not make a recantation of his Blasphemies; on the contrary, as he was going to the place of execution, he boasted that he was the first that died for the glory of the Father, the only true God; "all the apostles, said he, "and all the martyrs having shed their blood but for the glory "of JESUS CHRIST, the son of God only by adoption. Blandrata, who had perverted prince John Sigismond, (z) that unfortunately died an Arian in his arms, became possessed with fury, and was some years after murdered by one of his Nephews, who

(y) Bened. Aretius in Hist. Gent. (z) Rescius, de Atheism. Evangel.

A. D. made his escape with all his money. Francis David, being accused
 1571. of conspiring in a plot against the state, was confined to a prison
 where he died with blasphemies in his mouth, crying out most
 dreadfully, that he saw himself surrounded with Demons, who
 were going to carry him away: and James Paleologus, that famous
 apostle of the order of St. Dominick, and who, at the request of
 those impious men, had made a false translation of the bible, was
 taken in Moravia, whither he had fled for refuge, and conducted
 to Rome, where, for fear of death, he made a publick abjuration
 of Arianism; but having relapsed some time after into his former
 heresy, he was burned alive, and died hardened in his impiety, on
 the same day that the Ambassadors from Japan were making their
 entry at Rome, where they were come in order to pay their
 homage, at the feet of the bishop of Rome, to the divinity of
 1585. JESUS CHRIST who was worshipped as true GOD 'in the utmost
 parts of the east, (a) whilst these wretched Christian apostates
 were using their endeavours to rob him of it.

Thus the greatest part of these authors of the new Arianism, as
 1571. well as Arius himself, fell, even in this life, into the hands of di-
 vine justice, which nevertheless made use of that scourge to punish
 those northern people, which proved far more terrible to them,
 than either war, plague or famine. For, after the death of
 Sigismund Augustus (who, being contented to be a Catholick
 himself, never had resolution enough to suppress those heresies, tho'
 indeed he would not publish any Edicts in their favour) all the
 Hereticks that were tolerated, especially the Lutherans, Calvinists,
 and Arians, solicited, during the interregnum, for a liberty to
 exercise their Religion, not only by toleration, but even by the
 authority of the laws. And as a great number of noble-men had
 unfortunately engaged themselves in those parties, and chiefly
 into that of the Arians, they prevailed in the Diet, and at last
 obtained an edict, which was there made, whereby it was made
 lawful for every body to follow the opinion he approved of best:
 (b) This edict was confirmed by the new king Henry of Valois,
 whom they obliged to take the following oath, viz. "That he
 "would maintain the peace between the different parties who

(a) 22. Mar. Flor. de Rem. l. 4. c. 12.

(b) Flor. l. 4. c. 12.

" were

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“were contending for religion.” His successor was also obliged to take the same oath, which was likewise required of the other kings that came after, and by these means the Arians, by degrees, encreased prodigiously in that kingdom. A. D. 1572.

As for Transilvania, the same edict of toleration was also published there in the year one thousand five hundred sixty five, and was often confirmed since in the states, under prince John Sigismond, who professed Arianism. Stephen Bathorius, a prince who was truly zealous for his faith, having succeeded him by the choice of the people of Transilvania, called in the Jesuits, in order to oppose the Hereticks, whom he could not destroy openly, because of the oath which was required of the kings to maintain the edict of Liberty. After he was chosen king of Poland, prince Christopher, his brother, (c) whom he left Vaivod in Transilvania, gave them an establishment in Clausburg, Weissenburg, and Varadin, where they preached against Heresies, and chiefly Arianism, with great success; as it appeared by the conversion of a great number of those Hereticks. This brought upon the Jesuits the aversion of the ministers of that impious doctrine, who were resolved to be revenged of them. It was not difficult for them to execute their design; for as they were become formidable, and had acquired a great deal of power during the infancy of prince Sigismond Bathorius, they joined against them, with the Lutherans and Calvinists, by the solicitations of Demetrius, the false bishop of the Arians, who gave it out in all places, that the Jesuits were going to restore the empire of the Pope, and idolatry amongst the people of Transilvania: So that being superior in number at a convocation of the states, which was held at Megia near Clausburg, a decree was passed by their management for the banishment of the Jesuits, in spite of all the endeavours that were used by the Prince and the Catholicks to prevent that act, which was directed contrary to the edict of Liberty, which the Protestants had required. It is true, that this young Prince, having discarded those who had conspired against him, and defeated the Turks who were come to uphold them, became absolute master of his dominions, and that afterwards having caused that unlawful edict to be

(c) *Claudiopolis Alba-Julia.*

- A. D.* annulled, he called in again the Jesuits, and restored the Catholics to their former privileges. But this happy turn in the affairs did not continue long, by reason of an accident which happened to this unfortunate Prince, who lost the use of his senses either by sickness, or by witchcraft, as it was generally believed in those days. For having yielded his dominions to the Emperor Rodolphus, he soon after repented what he had done, and made them over to cardinal Andrew Bathorius, his kinsman; but the Emperor sent immediately Michael Vaivoda of Walachia into Transilvania, with the famous George Basta, General of the imperial forces, who defeated the army of this cardinal-Prince; and having put him to flight, he ran into a wood, where being fatigued he fell asleep under a tree, and in the mean while, some shepherds finding him thus alone, he was most miserably murdered by them with his own cimeter.
1595. Prince Sigismond, who was retired into Poland (according to his natural inconstancy) resolved again to assume the government of his dominions, and was assisted in his undertaking by the troops of Moses Szekely of Transilvania, who was a great General, and a professed Arian; but the Vaivode and George Basta having defeated him in several engagements, he found himself at last obliged to solicit the Protection of the Emperor, to whom he yielded up Transilvania a second time, and retired to the territories, which were appointed for him in Bohemia, where he died of an apoplexy, about eleven years after. The Vaivode, in the mean while, having endeavoured to assume an arbitrary command in Transilvania, was killed by Gorge Basta, who took upon him the government; and Moses being backed by a powerful body of Turks and Tartars, entered the country, whereof he immediately took possession of the best part, then marched with his forces to Clausburg, which was surrendered up to him by the Arian magistrates, upon condition that he would give up the Jesuits to them, in order that they might treat them as they thought fit. Moses, who was also an Arian, readily granted them whatever they required upon that head. So that after this treaty was signed, being entered the city on the ninth of June, the Arians of Clausburg, (*d*) joined

(*d*) Lit. ann. Societ. I. ann. 1606. Alegambe, Morts. illust.

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by those of Moses, went in arms directly to the college and church. *A.D.*
of those Fathers, where they acted all the barbarities and im- 1602.
pieties that could be thought on, both against **JESUS CHRIST**, and
the defenders of his Divinity. For having entered the church in
a most furious manner, they first attacked the image of the blessed
virgin, which they profaned in a thousand abominable manners,
pronouncing an infinite number of blasphemies against her, till at
last they cut it into pieces with their hatchets and cimeters: and
after having executed their rage in the like manner on the statues
of the saints, which they pulled down to the ground, they at last
laid their sacrilegious hands on the *Sancta Sanctorum*; and having
taken the holy cup out of the tabernacle, where was deposited the
sacrament, they most impiously trampled on the ground with
their feet. Hereupon brother Emmanuel Nery, a young religious
man of Piemont, who held the office of Sacristan, or vestry-keeper
of the church, seeing with horror all these abominable Sacrileges,
and the Outrages which these impious men offered to **JESUS**
CHRIST, ran without any other arms but his zeal, in the midst of
this furious troop, and endeavoured to appease their rage, by re-
presenting to them the greatness and enormity of the crime
which they were committing. But his extraordinary zeal was in-
stantly rewarded with the Crown of glorious martyrdom, which he
suffered in some manner with **JESUS CHRIST** himself, whom the
Arians treated so unworthily in his most blessed Humanity, whilst
they were at the same time endeavouring to rob him of his Divi-
nity by the blasphemies of their heresy. For these Barbarians,
having immediately turned their arms and fury against this zeal-
ous Priest, after having loaded him with an infinite number of
outrages, calling him an Idolater and Papist, to shew the hatred
which they bore to the religion he professed, they struck him to
the ground with a blow of an hatchet, and then shot him through
the body with a musket, so left him dead on the body of his di-
vine Master, which, in the Sacrament, they had before trampled
under their feet. It may be said, that this Martyr was happy to
have shed his blood for so glorious a cause, by defending the Di-
vinity and most blessed Humanity of **JESUS CHRIST**, against his
implacable Enemies, the Arians. For he, in some manner, died
like Moses in the arms of **JESUS CHRIST**, who received him on
his

A. D. his Body, when he fell on the Sacrament by the blow he had received, which made his martyrdom the more compleat.

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After these furious men had thus satisfied their rage in one respect, they ran up and down the house of these Fathers, and with sticks and swords fell on several of them; amongst others, they beat brother George Bartholick so unmercifully, that they broke two of his ribs; and with a sword wounded father Peter Majorius; then pulled the sick out of their beds, and left them lying on the ground, and expelled the rest, after having loaded them with blows and opprobrious language: Yet, not content with all this, they plundered and pulled down the Church and College from the top to the foundations, glorifying themselves in so barbarous a manner for having revenged the Glory of God, by exterminating those from their City who made it a place of idolatry. But this horrible impiety did not remain long unpunished. George Basta having defeated Moses in two engagements, and the latter, with most of the noblemen of Transilvania, having lost their lives in the second battle; this General, after his victory, laid siege to Clausburg, and took it in the month of September. He then caused the author of the treaty with Moses to be put to death, and having restored the Jesuits, he obliged the City to give them another house, and a Church in the room of that which the Arians had demolished. But as it came to pass soon after, that Transilvania fell under the dominion of the Calvinist Princes, who were protected by the Turks, if the Jesuits, who had been more than once banished, and restored again, were sufferers by it, the Arians reaped no advantage from this change; for though they are still tolerated in that country, nevertheless the Catholics and Protestants, both Calvinists and Lutherans, were restored to their liberty by virtue of the edicts, particularly, when they found that all the different sects of Arianism had, by degrees, confounded themselves with the most detestable sect of them all, which took its name from Faustus Socinus.

This man, who was nephew to Lelius Socinus of the city of Siena, the inseparable companion of Valentinus Gentilis, being prosecuted in Italy for the crimes of Apostasy and Heresy, ran away, as had done the other Apostates, and passed through Geneva and Germany, from whence he resolved to pass into Poland, in order

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order to compleat the work which his Uncle had begun, For, after having acquired a perfect knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinitarians, and of these new Arians, which, at this time, puzzled them very much, and created so many different opinions amongst them, he thought, that, in order to reunite them, he might attempt something beyond what had been till then; and therefore, setting aside all restrictions, he made use of the liberty which was then allowed them to explain the scriptures, every one according to his own private meaning, and, in short, was so bold as to say very freely, what was much easier to be comprehended, viz. That **JESUS CHRIST** was but man, and that he only began to take his Being from the time that he was born of the virgin Mary; that therefore one only **GOD** should be worshipped without distinction of Persons, according to the opinion of the Deists; and that there would be no difficulty to explain what was the Word, how it proceeded from **GOD** from all eternity, and after what manner it became Man, which very much perplexed the Arians. Yet I cannot say that this wicked man was the author of that heresy, for he had a great many predecessors amongst the ancient hereticks, and even amongst the new Arians, who had taught the same doctrine. (e) Ebion and Cerinthus, in the time of the Apostles, were the first who dared to utter this blasphemy; and it was on their account that St. John wrote his Gospel, (f) who was the last of the Evangelists, in order to confute them, which he did in a most heavenly manner, by establishing so plainly the Divinity of the Word, which became Man for the love of us. Symmachus the Samaritan, (g) who wrote a version of the Scripture about the year 196, maintained the same error, which he endeavoured to prove by the gospel of St. Matthew, whereupon he made Comments for that purpose; for neither he nor his successors could ever approve the gospel of St. John. (h) This was also one of the heresies of Sabellius, who confounded the three persons in **GOD**, and who afterwards denied that **JESUS CHRIST** was the Son of **GOD**. (i) Paul of Samosatus, bishop of Antioch, was condemned in the year 274. by the council of that very City, because he said that

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(e) Iorn. lib. 3. adv. hæres. (f) Hieron. de Script. Eccl. (g) Epiph. lib. de mens. & ponder. Niceph. l. 5. c. 12. (h) Hilar. l. 1. de Trin. (i) August. in Catal. Hæret.

the

A. D. 1603. the divine Person of *JESUS CHRIST* began only to take his Being from the time that he was conceived in the blessed womb of the holy virgin. Photinus also bishop of Sirmium, who maintained the same impiety, was convicted by Basil of Ancyra at the council of Sirmium, (*k*) and condemned, as it may be seen in that history, by the very Arians themselves, who confessed that the Word, tho' a creature according to their doctrine, was nevertheless from all eternity, and that it became man, by uniting itself with human nature in the blessed womb of a virgin. Amongst the great number of Tritheists, who were the revivers of Arianism in these latter times, many of them before Socinus had already fallen into an opinion of this detestable impiety. Lucas Sternbergius made a publick profession of it, Okin introduced it slyly in his writings, (*l*) Duditus was used to say, that people were at liberty to believe what they thought fit, concerning that article: and Simon Budneus, who published this doctrine throughout Lithuania, composed a bible on purpose, after his own manner, in order that the world might find therein the hundred and twenty passages, whereby he pretended to maintain that blasphemy.

Therefore this Faustus Socinus is neither the author, nor the reviver of what we call Socinianism; but that name was given to it because Socinus treated this impious subject after a more nice and plausible manner, than the others; which afterwards procured him a greater number of followers, chiefly amongst the nobility of Poland, where a great many of his disciples, became his protectors. For indeed he said nothing but what might be easily understood, without being obliged to make a sacrifice of a man's reason, in order to submit it to the belief of what is so infinitely beyond his comprehension. His doctrine was, that God is but one only person, and that the Word and Holy Ghost, were nothing more than the wisdom and omnipotency by which he acteth all things according to his will: That God hath no Son by nature, but only by adoption; and that he who beareth that title by excellency, is *JESUS CHRIST*, who is a man extraordinary, whom he framed in the womb of a virgin by his almighty power, and by that divine

(*k*) Vincent. Livin. contra Prof. hæret. novit. de Rom. l. 4. c. 13.

(*l*) Prateol. in Dial. Refc. Fl.

operation which is also called the Holy Ghost: That he is chiefly for this reason stiled the Son of GOD, and even GOD by participation, because of his super-eminent dignity, and of the ministry, which he hath received of GOD his Father, who hath given him all power, both in heaven and on earth, and hath appointed him mediator and high-priest, in order to reconcile us to him after our transgressions, by interceding for us; and that whatever is said of the Trinity, of the incarnation of the Word, of the presence of CHRIST's body in the Eucharist, and the efficacy of baptism towards blotting out the original sin, all these, he says, are meer illusions and fables of man's invention.

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There was nothing in this doctrine, above human understanding, nor that humbled the vanity of the mind, which naturally rebels against what it cannot comprehend; and besides, you could not discover therein the difficulties which perplexed the Arians and Antitrinitarians, when they were put to it, to explain their mysteries: and this occasioned amongst them that great number of opinions, which divided them into so many sects. Therefore most of those Hereticks, who were opposed chiefly to the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, joined all together, in order to follow that opinion, which in a little time got the upper hand. The Protestants began to fear this new enemy, who was growing formidable, by the union of so many forces, and at first used their utmost endeavours to prevent the progress of his doctrine. Volanus, who was the most powerful and famous Lutheran of those days, wrote against him, in defence of the great mystery of the Word incarnate, which he maintained by the scriptures interpreted according to the opinion of the Fathers and Councils. But Socinus having employed the arms of the Protestants themselves against him, found it no difficult matter to overcome him; for he told him what he himself had often said to the Catholicks: (m) "Those Councils, and those Fathers whom you mention, are they infallible? There is no judge amongst men who hath authority to determine the affairs of religion; that power is vested alone in the word of GOD, which we find in the scriptures, and my belief is grounded on that only." And indeed there is no Protestant, who acts on his own principle, that can

(m) Socin. l. de Chr. nat.

A. D. 1603. reasonably condemn a Socinian, because the disputes of the latter, either when he challenges, or defends himself, are always maintained by the scripture interpreted according to his own fancy, in the same manner as the Protestants proceed against us when any disputes arise, which are decided by them according to their own interpretations of the scriptures. A Catholick is the only person that can destroy this abominable heresy with the same arms which he employs against the Protestants, but it is not the business of an historian to mention the truths, which must be proved by a divine, tho' I think I have made them very plain in the treatise which I wrote on the true word of GOD. (n)

In this manner it was that Socinus by degrees re-united to his party, all the different sects of modern Arians, who, tho' they retain their ancient name in some parts, are nevertheless real Socinians, and have nothing left of the old Arianism, but their obstinate impiety by endeavouring to destroy the divinity of JESUS CHRIST. However, these impious men were abhorred almost throughout the world; and even Poland, where they began to spread the venom of their wicked doctrine, was happily delivered of them in our days, under the reign of king John Casimir. For during the last war that was carried on between Swedeland and Poland, it being discovered that the Arians or Socinians, who were striving to take advantage from the ruin of the Polish state, held a private correspondence with Prince Ragozky of Transilvania, who had invaded Poland at the same time; the Catholick noblemen, who were assembled at the general diet of Varsovia in the year sixteen hundred fifty eight, took that opportunity to free Poland from that abominable heresy, which might have brought still greater calamities on that state, who had already been very near its utter destruction. The Lutheran and Calvinist Nuncio's, who were present at this diet, fearing least the laws, which were going to be put in force against those Hereticks, might affect them also, and expose them to the like treatment, they all joined together, in order to oppose the decree. But as their number was much inferior to that of the Catholicks, and that they were left out of the question by an act of toleration, and moreover, as they bore

(n) Chap. 9. & 10.

an aversion to the Arians, whom (had it been in their power) they would often have banished thence out of Poland, at last a law was passed by a general consent, whereby Arianism was utterly abolished; and the Arians and Socinians, being both comprehended under the same name, were obliged either to abjure their heresy, or to leave the kingdom within the space of two years, which was the time allowed them to dispose of their estates. This decree, which has been since confirmed by the other general diets, was not of the nature of those which often lose their force by length of time, like those laws that are made from time to time, out of a party zeal for the suppression of publick disorders. It was put in execution, and is still in force to this day; several of these Hereticks retired into Hungary, and some to the territories of the Turks, who in a manner profess the same belief as they do, concerning the person of JESUS CHRIST; others went into Germany, where the states had obliged the Emperor to grant an act of toleration to the Arians, as well as to the Lutherans and Calvinists. A part of these Hereticks retired into Holland, (o) where all, excepting the true religion, are tolerated, and where the victorious arms of our most Christian king, who has restored it in above thirty places, which he conquered in one campaign, give us some room to hope, that it will soon again retrieve (either by the means of peace, or war) that liberty, which it had been deprived of for the space of near one hundred years. The rest of the Arians passed into Transilvania, which, in the miserable condition it is now reduced to, by the power that the Turks have assumed in that country, is rather become a banishment to them, than a place of refuge.

As to those who were resolved to continue in Poland, and were far superior in number to the others, some of them became Catholics, and the rest were obliged to join in opinion with the Lutherans and Calvinists; so that they all were baptized, because one of the Errors of the Socinians being, that Baptism was nothing more than a sign, by which the primitive Christians took upon them to distinguish themselves from the Pagans, and was now no longer necessary, they never used Baptism. Socinianism was in this manner rooted out of Poland, at least with regard to the publick

(o) Merc. Fran. Tom. 8.

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It is true, that the professors of this last heresy have writ large Volumes, wherein they endeavour to maintain their doctrine, either from passages of the Scripture, or by those reasons and arguments which they oppose to the Catholick faith, with respect to these two great mysteries, viz. The Trinity, and the divinity humanity of *JESUS CHRIST*. But for the interest of Truth, and in order to undeceive those who were so far imposed upon as to be persuaded that those Books were written by men of good sense and learning; I think my self obliged to declare, that they shewed all the want of judgment and weakness imaginable in writing as they have done. For as to what relates to the Scriptures, they have only produced those passages which the Paulianists, the Photinians, and Sabellians, their ancestors, had opposed to us above a thousand years ago, and which the Fathers of those days had often times fully and plainly answered, by explaining them according to their true sense, which was that of the Church, of whom they were the principal Members. What can be more weak and despicable than to advance nothing more than what has been so often proposed, and as often explained; as it is still done every day, by considering *JESUS CHRIST* according to the two natures both Divine and Humane? And for the arguments which they oppose to us, they borrow from the writings of our Doctors those very passages,

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sages, which we our selves object against our mysteries, in order to explain them; and they glory in them, whilst at the same time they take pains to conceal the answers which our Doctors have made to them. What can be more wretched? Let us add to this, that when we propose a hundred passages to them, which plainly express the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, they will explain them according to their own Meaning; and they will not allow us to explain their passages as the Fathers of the ancient Church understood them. This certainly must raise the indignation of any man that is master of common sense. But, as an historian, it is my business to refute this heresy. I have already made that matter clear, in my treatise of the True Word of GOD, (p) by such invincible arguments, as the Protestants, to their great misfortune, are not able to employ against the Socinians; (q) and you may see a confutation of what I have mentioned, which is yet much stronger, in the learned Father Petavius, (r) who has left nothing untouched relating to this subject.

It was therefore to no purpose that Arianism, after having been abolished during the space of almost nine hundred years, used such strong endeavours to revive again in the last century, by the interest of those who rose up against the Church. The very people whom it called upon for protection against the Catholics, have abhorred it themselves. It has been banished out of all the Christian countries, and dares not to appear either in its own shape, or under the cloak of Arianism, which has assumed both its place and name, unless it be in that wretched part of the world, which is under the government of the Mahometans, who take pleasure to see the Christians join with them in renouncing the belief of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. But it never was so firmly established as it now is, through those very means which the Arians applied, in order to destroy it in the minds of men, since it occasioned so many miracles as made it manifest throughout the world. And as Arianism was subdued at last, after all its furious attempts, it more gloriously conducted to the

(p) Chap. X.

(q) Tom. 2. l. 3. de Trinit. contra Crell. Socinianism.

(r) Pettau.

triumph

A. D. triumph of that Truth, which hath declared from the beginning
1666. of Christianity to this time without interruption, that He who
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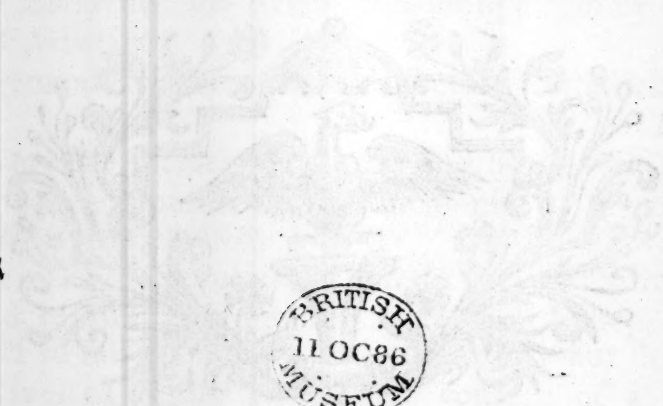
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